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THE LAST WAR — AND THE NEXT

The seventeenth anniversary of the war for "democracy and civilization" finds the entire world, with the exception of the Soviet Union, in the midst of a disastrous economic crisis. Industry and agriculture have both been shaken by it; millions of workers the world over are unemployed, millions of peasants are starving.

While it is true that economic crises of overproduction have their roots in the capitalist system itself, the intensity of the present crisis is to a large extent the result of special conditions created by the world war. The acute misery of the workers and peasants of the world has been aggravated by such direct results of the imperialist war as the disorganization of the capitalist system, the oppressive "peace" treaties, and the postwar military alliances.

There have been other results of the war, directly connected with the present crisis. The capitalist governments have, as was to be expected, persisted in their policy of militarism; under the smoke-screen of the Locarno Pact, the Kellogg Pact and other fake peace manouvres, they have been steadily increasing their armaments, cynically rejecting proposals of the Soviet Union for general world disarmament. The cost of these armaments are borne by the toiling population in each country and the consequent burden of taxation has been enormous. The imperialist "war to end war" has resulted in a capitalist world armed to the teeth. Each of the capitalist countries maintains—at the expense of the workers and farmers—vast armies and navies and airfleets prepared, at a moment's notice, to plunge into sanguinary conflicts. The existence of military alliances sharpens the race for armaments; every country is on guard, with its finger on the trigger. This instant readiness for once more drenching the world in blood has its roots in the political and economic struggle among the capitalist states, the battle of capitalist groups for markets and for political hegemony.

Another consequence of the world war which has served to intensify the present crisis have been reparations and inter-allied debts; the system of tribute and exploitation imposed by the victorious capitalist states on the vanquished. As a result, large sections of the world's population have seen their purchasing power dwindle; part of the goods turned out by the factories remain unsold; millions of workers are thrown out on the streets; the capitalists, intent on making profits amidst the miseries of the toiling masses, reduce the wages and increase the hours of those workers who still have jobs; taxes are increased; whatever benefits may exist under various social insurance schemes are ruthlessly cut down; the protests of workers and farmers, expressed in strikes and demonstrations, are drowned in blood. The chaos of the capitalist system, now paying the inevitable price of its anarchy, is further aggravated by the unfavorable distribution of gold reserves; for just

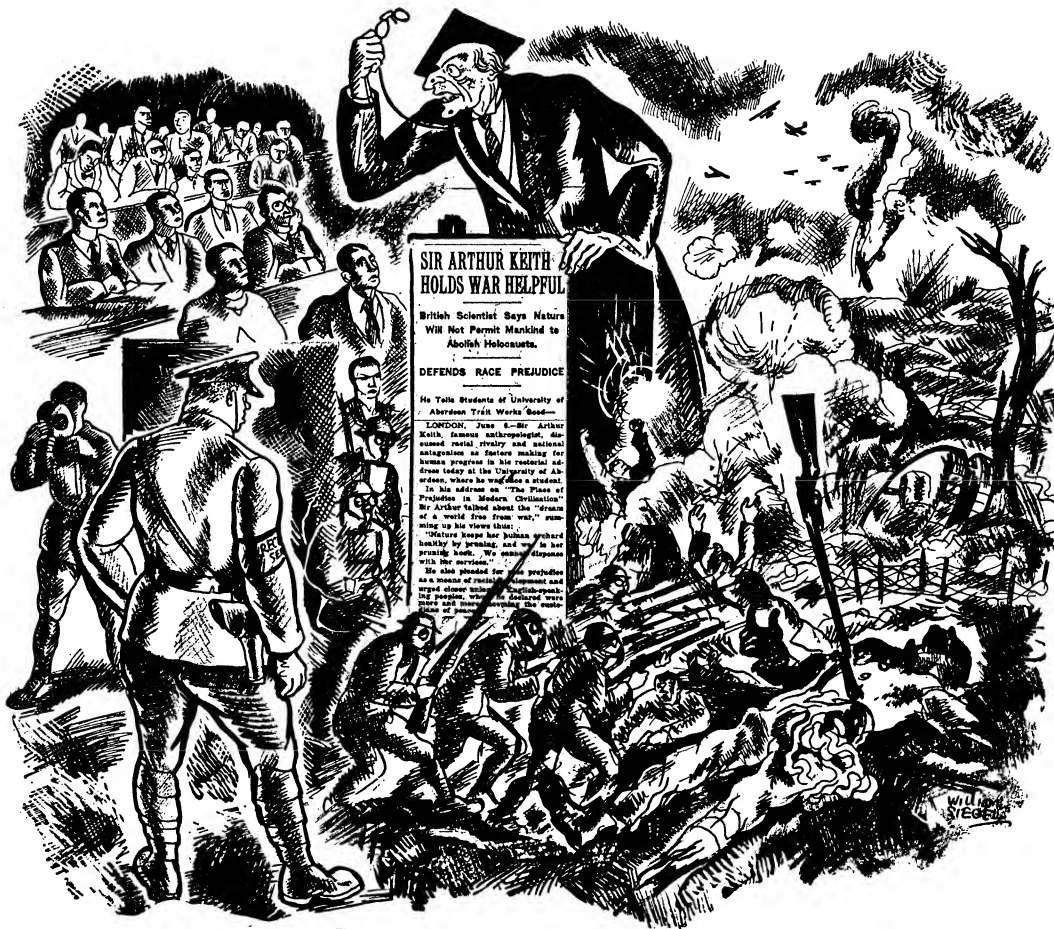
as workers starve while the warehouses burst with unsold goods, so certain countries suffer from gold shortage while the banks of other countries are bursting with unused gold reserves.

These factors combine to create a natmosphere of uncertainty throughout the capitalist world; the bankers and industrialists fear some terrible catastrophe, not the least of which (from their viewpoint) is a Communist revolution in a country like Germany. Uncertainty tends to diminish the enthusiasm of banks in issuing credits; capital cannot be applied for constructive work, and as a result the crisis is further intensified.

Unable to solve a crisis inherent in the capitalist system, the capitalists and their supporters, such as the socialists and the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, have been attempting to distract the attention of the workers and farmers from their misery by anti-Soviet campaigns. Military attacks against the Soviet Union are openly preached in the press and at public meetings. One of a thousand examples is the recent speech of Brigadier General Lucius R. Holbrook, Commander of the First Regular Army Division of the U. S. Army, in which he urged war against the Soviet Union. Addressing the veterans of the Seventy-Eighth Division at Camp Dix, the brigadier general said:

"It is well to remember that the political power in control of Russia has declared war on the United States and is today openly advocating the overthrow of this government in every place and at every opportunity. Russia is evidently preparing to fight the world. . . . We will face a new alignment in the next war. We will forget our foes of the world war and welcome them as allies. . . . Foes of the recent conflict will work together against the common enemy for the preservation of our governments, our homes, and firesides and our religion."

The reference to "foes of the recent conflict" is worth noting. It is an echo of Hoover's attempt to draw Germany into the anti-Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union, more than ever before, is a challenge to capitalist society, a model and inspiration to the workers of the entire world. The success of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction, which the masses in every country compare with the disintegration of capitalism, increasingly worries the bankers and industrialists, the socialists, the fascists, the reactionary trade union bureaucrats. The General Holbrooks and Matthew Wolls are alarmed by the striking contrast between the two systems of civilization, apparent to all. In the Soviet Union, a steady improvement in the standard of living of the masses, tremendous enthusiasm in the building of a new society; in the capitalist countries unparalleled suffering, widespread unemployment, and fascist tyranny intensified by the economic crisis. The capitalists and their socialist supporters desperately try to solve this crisis by attacks on the wages, the hours, the press, the organization of the



THE RECRUITING AGENT, M.A. PH.D. D.D.

William Siegel

workers and farmers in their own countries, and simultaneously, as part of the same campaign, by accelerating war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Hitherto the French capitalists have been the leaders of the anti-Soviet campaign. For the purpose of encircling the Soviet Union, France has created political and military alliances with Poland, Rumania, Finland, and the countries of the Little Entente.

The trial of Ramsin and his fellow-conspirators in Moscow glaringly revealed the preparations of French imperialism against the Soviet Union. For the purpose of drawing up plans and directing military operations against the U.S.S.R., the French General Staff had organized an International Commission, including British and Polish officers, and had actually set the date for a military offensive for 1930 or, at the latest, 1931.

Preparations for a military offensive have been accompanied by campaigns of slanderous propaganda and economic aggression against the Soviet Union. Sensational lies, intended to alarm the world, filled the bourgeois press of every country.

Every proposal made at international conferences by the Soviet Union for the "peaceful parallel existence of the two economic systems which exist simultaneously at a definite historical moment" was turned down by representatives of capitalist states. They successively rejected Soviet proposals for total disarmament, for the complete cessation of all forms of economic aggression, for an international wheat pool to alleviate the world agricultural crisis. The capitalist states will not do anything, cannot do anything to solve the crisis; they are doomed by history to dig their own graves; they are torn by fierce economic, political and military rivalries, inevitable under capitalism, and inevitably leading to war.

In this rapid drift toward war the United States plays a leading role as the chief capitalist state in the world today. While Hoover attempts to assume leadership of the imperialist powers, to stave off a Communist revolution and to protect three billions dollars of American investments by a moratorium on certain German debts, the War Department is working out detailed plans for the mobilization of a conscript army of 4,000,000 in the next war. A complete plan for the mobilization of industry when that war comes, was outlined by War Department officials before the Congressional War Policies Commission. Already 14,000 capitalists

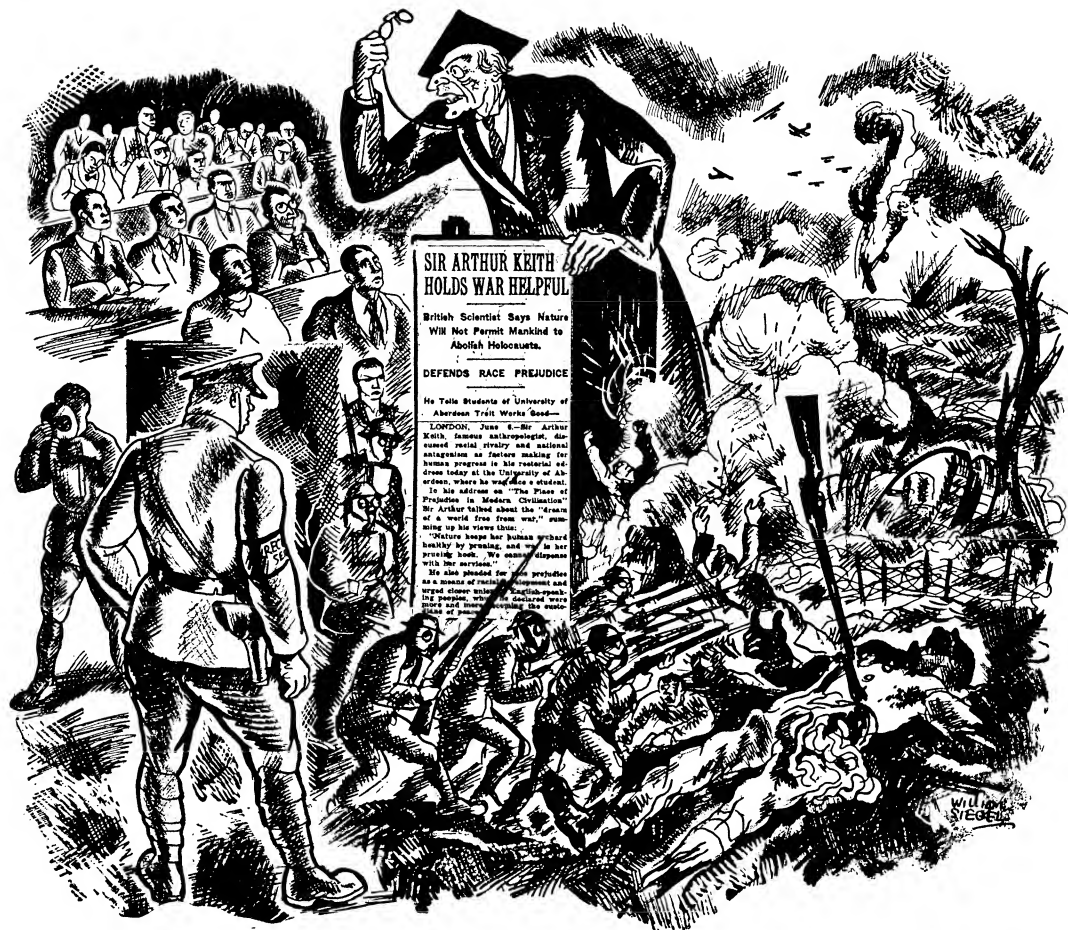
have been commissioned as "contact men" for the War Department to assume charge of the industrial machine immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. Assistant Secretary of War Payne revealed that the Department is placing "educational orders" for munitions, without advertising for bids, so that factories producing peacetime articles may be easily converted into munition plants. Naval bases are being strengthened in the Caribbean; Latin-American governments are being lined up in the anti-Soviet bloc; and millions of dollars are being spent on military, naval and air manœuvres at a time when the Federal government has refused to spend a cent for unemployment relief.

It is significant that the American socialists and reactionary trade union bureaucrats support the campaign against the Soviet Union, and, furthermore, to the tune of sweet pacifist phrases, support American militarism. It was Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, who inspired the Fish Committee and organized the anti-Soviet committee of 100 capitalists and their henchmen; and it was Norman Thomas, the evangelical intellectual of the Socialist Party, who, "testifying" before the War Policies Commission, tacitly accepted war preparations. In true "socialist" style, he merely suggested that these preparations be better camouflaged; like his colleague at the head of the British government, he wanted the sword wrapped in bologna. All he could suggest regarding La Guardia's proposal for the complete militarization of government and industry is that it should be carried out only in case of "extreme emergency"—as if war were not always an "extreme emergency." Unfortunately for Norman Thomas and for the capitalists whom he advised, no conscious worker, no honest intellectual believes in these war-breeding peace pacts. Nineteen fourteen taught the workers what may be expected from the Second International in wartime; the subsequent years confirmed this lesson in peacetime.

These are matters for workers and for honest intellectuals to think about and to act on. The workers have already acted. When the Communist International in 1929 set aside August First as the day of international workingclass struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, millions of workers demonstrated throughout the world. The revolutionary organizations of the workingclass carry on this struggle every day of the year. The intellectuals in this country have so far contented themselves with turning out hundreds of books portraying the horrors of the last war. These memoirs, novels, stories, and movies mean nothing unless they lead to positive action against imperialist war.

The example of the Chinese revolutionary writers recently buried alive by Chiang Kai Chek's government for their active participation in the workers' struggle against imperialism; the arrest and imprisonment of revolutionary writers in Germany, Poland and other countries are signs of the solidarity of revolutionary intellectuals everywhere with the struggles of the working class and the toiling farmers.

From such intellectuals as are themselves bound up with the capitalist class, nothing can be expected except a defense of capitalist interests, capitalist ideas, and capitalist wars; but those intellectuals who have been caught in the mighty sweep of the workingclass revolution, particularly proletarian writers, must find their place in the struggle against imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the abolition of the capitalist system which breeds wars.



NORMAN MACLEOD

COAL GLOWS RED

Below us lay Cannonsburg and the Buffalo Mine (slag burning grey and the sky grey and the mines almost empty of men). Next to us stood a sunburned, gaunt boy studying an ant hill: like a mound of scabs holing into the damp, dark earth.

"There's a lot of ants here," the boy said to us. "Last week the strikers killed four troopers." There was a dark pulse to his heart and his eyes were shadowed like those of children grown old too soon. He said, "I don't know what the strikers are going to do. They all got eviction notices to move out of the patch. They have nowhere to go. My dad is on strike. We're going to move into my uncle's stable." He said he was going to work as a miner when he got twelve years old. "There a lot of ants here," he said as we left him.

We traveled all over the Pennsylvania coal strike section. Nearly all of the mines were closed down tight. The strikers are being evicted from the patches. They get only one meal a day, but that is more than they were sure of when they were working.

Before the strike this scene could be encountered at any mine: Miner's wife waiting by the tippie with a basket on her arm, mother of nine children, waiting sometimes for four days until her man had a gondola of coal on the scales, waiting until she could get a ticket of credit for forty, fifty or sixty cents to buy some food at the company store. Or trying to get food at the store and being told by the clerk, "Go on away from here. Your old man aint brought any coal up yet."

These miners haven't seen money for years in many cases. Their tickets on a pay of two weeks nearly always turn out to be snakes. The best paid miner who was working in the best room of Coverdale Mine Number Eight one pay before the strike worked from nine to sixteen hours a day for twelve shifts. He loaded eighty-four tons at forty-two and a half cents, making thirty-five dollars and seventy cents. His charges were twenty-three dollars and ten cents for lights, powder and caps, doctor, insurance, blacksmith, bathhouse, UMW union dues, checkweighman (there was no checkweighman but he paid for it just the same), rent, and electric lights. He had twelve dollars and sixty cents to feed his wife and six kids. This miner was the best paid that pay. Most of the rest got a blank line.

Mike De Stasio Gets Paid—

At Hendersonville the miners are all out. In spite of evictions, nine of them in the last two days, in spite of the most rigid oppression, in spite of a scarcity of food, they have an intense fighting spirit. We talked to one of the miners who, except for the last two weeks, had not worked more than two days a month for

a year. He was paid four dollars a pay in order that his rent and light (which he didn't have: the house was not wired) might be paid back to the company. On his last check he had money coming to him which the operator refused to give him. The slip was as follows:

Not Transferable		Debit:	
Check Number 611		Rent	\$3.50
Mike De Stasio		Store	4.00
Credit:		Doctor	0.50
Six days labor	\$24.00	Lights	0.70
Total	\$24.00	(In handwriting:	
		Held \$15.30)	15.30
		Total	\$24.00

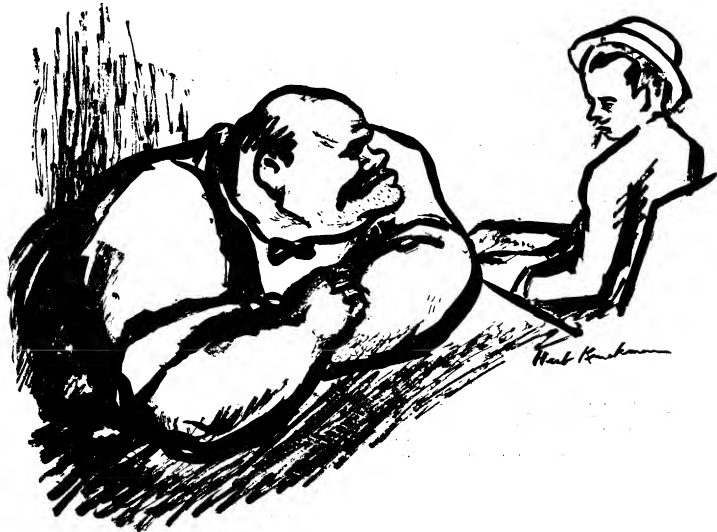
In spite of the fact that Mike De Stasio had fifteen dollars and thirty cents coming to him he still got a snake because he went on strike. And although he had paid his rent up to the fifteenth of July he was ordered to vacate on the twelfth. But Mike is not going to leave until he gets his money. We interviewed the superintendent of the Henderson Coal Co, Mr. H. W. Wassum, and asked him what reason could be given for holding back money due to the strikers. The gentleman was also a deputy sheriff and, serving us in such capacity, ordered us to get the hell off of the grounds or we would be arrested. We knew that he had absolute control of the property. Even a miner to have his mother visit him in the house he rents must have a written permit from the operators.

One of the biggest grafts is the charge for doctors. At Cedar Grove there were eight hundred miners working before the strike. They each paid two dollars a month as doctor fee, making sixteen hundred dollars a month paid by the miners for a doctor who was paid by the company only six hundred (meaning a monthly rakeoff of one thousand dollars). At Coverdale the miners must not only trade at the company stores, live in company patches, work any hours in company mines, but they must also buy their whiskey (if they ever have the money) from Benny, the company bootlegger. The price of a gallon is four dollars main line money and five dollars clacker (scrip). The payment of the miners in company money is particularly odious. Miners can sell clacker at twenty percent discount for real currency and still buy more provisions at other stores than they can with scrip in company stores.

500 Miners Get Together—

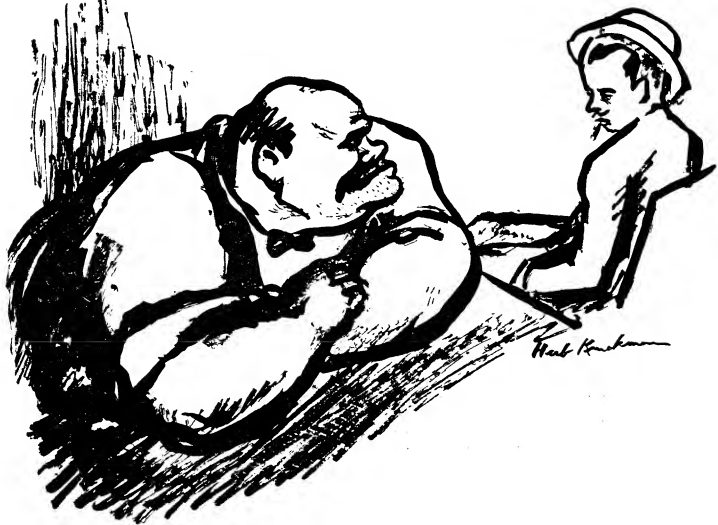
On Wednesday, July 15, we attended the Pittsburgh Rank and File Conference of striking miners of the National Miners' Union. Over 500 delegates were there representing the mines in Arkansas, Alabama, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania, Central Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, and the Anthracite regions. On the chairman's table was a large placard reading, "We demand freedom for the Harlan, Kentucky Miners." When the Harlan delegation came in, a little late, a storm of approbation broke over the hall. Rangy, gaunt, and rough natives from the hills of Kentucky who are making hell pop in Harlan. These men know how to fight for freedom and they haven't forgotten the Civil War. They can understand the class struggle. It is no longer north against south, white against black with them. It is workers against operators and workers against tin helmets. They have seceded from slavery.

Borich was elected chairman and as secretary of the National Miners' Union he gave a stirring report on the strike situation in the coal fields. Foster talked in behalf of the Trade Union Unity League and Wagenknecht for the Workers' International Relief. It was the first miners' convention in history in which women delegates participated. An individual report on each area was given by a selected delegate. A twelve year old miner talked to a tense hall. Negroes and whites, natives and aliens were united in a common cause. No convention of the United Mine Workers ever presented such a united front. These delegates represented forty thousand strikers who have joined the National Miners' Union in the course of five weeks. Many of them have come over from the UMW. They all know the scab role of the



Herb Kruckman

"THEY WON'T FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY, EH? WELL, THEY'LL FIGHT FOR A SQUARE MEAL THEN!"



Herb Kruckman

**"THEY WON'T FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY, EH? WELL,
THEY'LL FIGHT FOR A SQUARE MEAL THEN!"**

A. F. of L. In the agreement which the UMW signed with the Pittsburgh Terminal Corporation, they see in the union's own hand-writing the treachery of Lewis. What real union could ever agree to "collect money owing the operators from their own union members?" What bona fide union could agree that their members should work as long hours as the company might think necessary? What union could sign away the lives of their members to starvation? By the time that this strike is over the United Mine Workers of America will be buried in the tombs of history. These miners know it. And the National Miners' Union will be one of the strongest unions in a key industry. That is why the Governor of Pennsylvania, the President of the United States, the editors of Liberal newspapers, and the coal operators are bewailing the fact that they broke the United Mine Workers' Union in 1927 and allowed a left union to penetrate into the field. That is why they are saying, "Let us revive the United Mine Workers." What kind of a union is a union for which the operators are pulling? A company union. That is why the organizers for the UMW can go around the strike area offering twenty and thirty dollar bribes to strikers in key localities. That money is not depleting the million dollar treasuries of the A. F. of L. That money is company money and the miners know it.

From Harlan, Harlan County, Kanetucky, Ameriky—

Next to the occasions when the Soviet Union was mentioned, the Harlan, Kentucky delegates were most certain to bring down the house. Comrade Lindsay from Harlan, Harlan County, Kanetucky, Ameriky is a small, wirey man with a bald crown. His head was burned in a coal mine and ever since he has looked like a man with an aureole. When he first got upon the platform, he took off his coat deliberately and rolled up his sleeves. From that moment the convention was with him. He explained how he had been the secretary of a UMW local until the Kentucky strike had been betrayed by the UMW. Then he joined the National Miners' Union and he told how the strike was going on.

The Governor of Kentucky wrote his union a letter asking them to allow the tin horn troopers to come in. At that time they thought that the troopers would help them but when they discovered that the troopers were guarding company property and company interests, the strikers argued with them and "most of them came over." Comrade Lindsay didn't say just how this was accomplished but he did suggest a lot of most persuasive reasons.

"Let me tell you what I did before I ever heard of the National Miners' Union," Lindsay told the conference. "My old man was always a Demicrat and I was always a Demicrat. I was raised up that way. But when the time came fer the last election, my old man wrote to me from North Caroliner and he said to me, 'Son, (Lindsay is about fifty years old)' he says to me, 'Son, I've been a Demicrat all my life, but don't you vote for Alvin Smith because he's a Cathlic.' And I went down to the polls and I looked at the names of Alvin Smith and Herbert Hoover and as fer as I could see there wasn't no more difference between Hoover and a Cathlic than they is between a pig and a hog. So I didn't vote fer neither one of them. I voted fer (turning around with a sweep of the hand), I voted fer Brother William Z. Foster here." Everybody in the house yelled.

After it had quieted down Lindsay went on. He said, "When I told the National Miners' Organizer in Kanetucky what I did he told me he could see I was good stuff. He said he never seen a piece of cheap furniture with a marble top." (running his hand over his ivory colored dome.) "But after I had voted the *Communist* ticket I found out I was the only one who voted it in the whole county and everyone was awondering who it was that had voted *Communist* and as soon as I figgered out that I wouldn't be arrested I told them. And that was before I ever heard of the National Miners' Union, brothers, and that was what I wanted to tell you. But since the strike in Harlan, Harlan County, Kanetucky, Ameriky, your National Miners' Union was the only one that ever helped us and I'm here to tell you, you understand, that we'll fight fer the National Miners' Union and when the strike is over in Kanetucky, Ameriky, there won't be no more United Mine Workers of Ameriky than they was food before we went on strike."

It seemed to us that all of the Kentucky delegation talked for short periods, but it must have been long, because we listened so closely. Towards the close of Lindsay's speech, he talked about the twenty-five strikers arrested for murder in Harlan. He said, "All of us miners have been thinking about the jury who will try

that case. We can't help but think that we will have to live with those men fer the rest of our lives."

And at the end he said, "And don't think that our women aren't all right in Harlan, Harlan County, Kanetucky, Ameriky. My old woman told me. She said, 'if you ever quit this strike before you won it, I'll never bake you another loaf of bread as long as I live'."

Later in the afternoon a special conference was called between white and black. Among the representatives were some from Kentucky. Who is always talking about the "solid south"? One Kentucky man got up and said, "I just want to tell you we are brothers whether black or white. We're going to win this strike with solidarity and just to show you how I feel about it, if any of you black men ever come to Kentucky, you sleep with me in my own bed."

No other union has ever been like the National Miners' Union. No other strike has ever been like the present one.

Big things are happening in Kentucky.

Big things are happening all over the coal fields.

PAPAL BULL

NOTE:—The Pope emerges from the silence and seclusion of the Vatican long enough to radio-warn his flock against the iniquity of listening to Communists.

*What does he know of labor—?
He who sits within protecting walls—
He, whose illustrious forehead has not felt
The damp of sweat;
Whose hands engage in fondling rosaries—
Whose only callouses are on his knees;
Who eats food made sacred
By his most reverend gut—
(Food, haloed by the toil of dupes,
Who hunger that the Pope may eat,)
He, whose feet
Pace through the tended hallways of his Home;
Whose precious seat
Is cushioned on the pinnacle of Rome!*

*What does he know of labor—?
Or of bread
Made brackish with foul sweat!
He never knew the luxury of a bed
That weariness has sweetened—
Nor felt the fears of poverty
Nor the dull ache of muscles strained—
He, whose morning sun
Is filtered through high windows,
Etched and stained
To sacred gaudiness.*

*But hear him tell the world to toil and breed—
To meekly bow before the Gods he worships . . .
(Give us this day our daily bread,
For thou art our shepherd,
And thine is the power and the profit . . .)*

*There on his holy throne, he talks of God!
And pours his simpering blessing on the backs
That bow beneath his burden.
There he sits
And from the vacuum of his being
Spits
Forth gems of nothingness.
His unctuous tones
Chant homage to the Gods of steel and smoke.
(Yea, though we walk the streets,
Our bellies empty and gnawing,
We will think no evil.
Thy club and thy sap will silence us . . .
Thy jails will shelter us . . . !)
Come, let us kneel and pray.*

DAWN LOVELACE

An Artist's Letter from the Coal Fields



This is called a "home" by the Pittsburg Terminal Coal Co. the place is in a cellar, rats running thru the house, no water, and the stinking sewer at the door.



Here's another "home" consisting of two beds, where a family of 9 exist in misery



A Relief Kitchen - A wash tub over a fire and whatever they can get makes up a soup, this little place feeds 28 families and 75 singles - (when they have it)



Families evicted by the hundreds left to exposure and rain without food and clothing.



And here we have Gov. Pinchot's "First aid" who charge into the Picket lines, beating women & children,

The Miners are fighting for their lives. In this strike they need the immediate help of every worker, intellectual, and every reader of the New Masses.

PLEASE HELP NOW!

Send every penny, clothes, shoes, food you can spare to the -

PENN-OHIO STRIKING MINERS RELIEF
611 PENN AVE. ROOM 205 PITTSBURG, PA.

Thank you,

GRAPER.

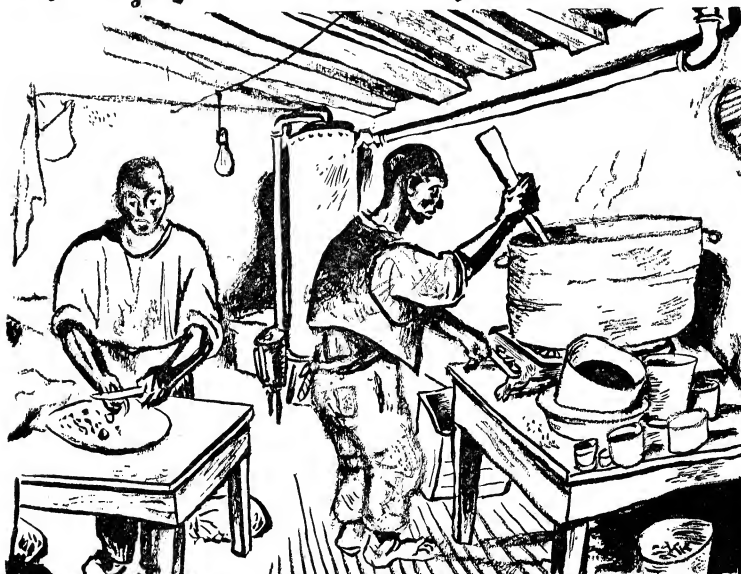
An Artist's Letter from the Coal Fields



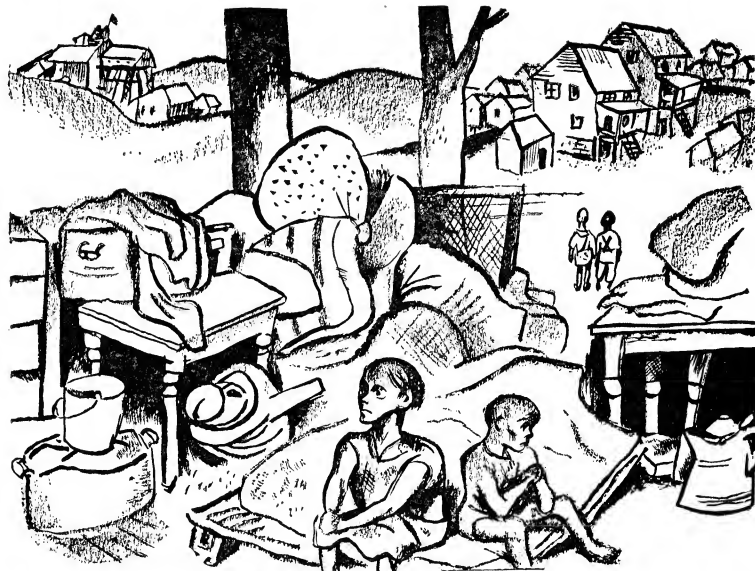
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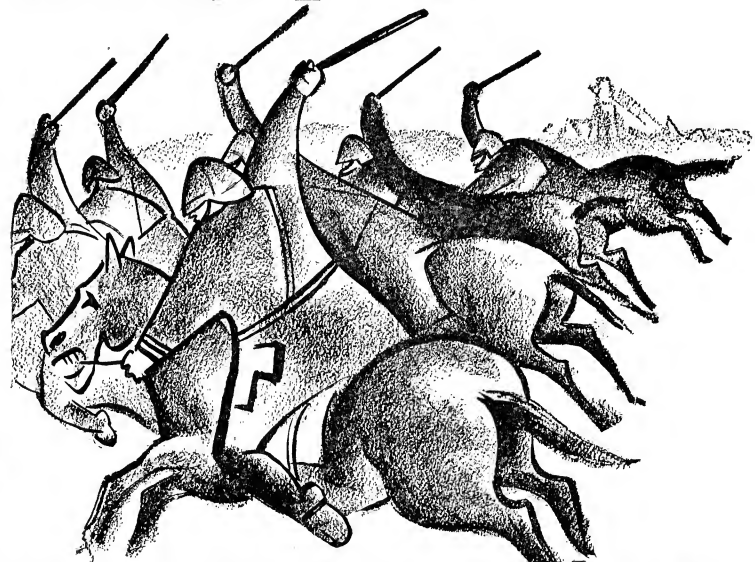
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Thank you,

GRAPER.

LIN KANG

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS IN CHINA

Today, the civil war in China in which the toiling masses fight against the ruling class, has come to a higher point than ever before. The rapid development of Soviet territory and of the Red Army in Central China has caused the imperialist-commanded Nanking Government,—a government of landlords, capitalists, and militarists—to undertake a widespread “Red suppression campaign.” This campaign was begun in early December, 1930, when General Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of the Nanking Government, commanded 25 divisions of troops—more than 300,000 in number, armed with machineguns, tanks, and airplanes,—to attempt the suppression of the Red Army in the three Red Provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh; this campaign was helped by foreign gun-boats which have waged an active war on the Red Army from the Yangtze River. However, Nanking’s white army, which now has 300,000 government troops in Kiangsi Province alone, has failed. 40,000 of these white troops have gone over to the Red Army and two Division Generals have been captured by the Red Army, and one put to death.

Following the failure of the suppression of the Red Army, the White Terror, which was begun in 1927 by the Kuomintang in the name of Nanking Government, has reached new heights in bloodiness and beastliness. Under this White Terror hundreds of thousands of the revolutionary masses, from the ages of 13 to 60, have already been executed. A part of the White Terror is the suppression of all Left cultural organizations, the arrest and executions of Left writers and students, the closing of bookshops, universities and schools.

Immediately after General Chiang Kai-shek made himself “temporary” Minister of Education on December 6, 1931, one college, the Nanyang Medical College, and one university, China University, in Shanghai, were forced to close down because of student-strikes. Daily reports of executions of students as well as of workers and peasants are scattered through both the Chinese and English press throughout the country. These reports are censored before they are published, and are very incomplete. For one instance, in November 1930, Chinese press reports from Szechuen Province stated that the military authorities there had posted public notices that any one who discovered or caught a Communist would be rewarded with \$50; and all soldiers and police who discovered Communists were not only rewarded \$50 a head but were given the right to kill on the spot. Soldiers and police showing good records in this matter would be promoted. The result was that within a few hours after the order had been posted, 200 men

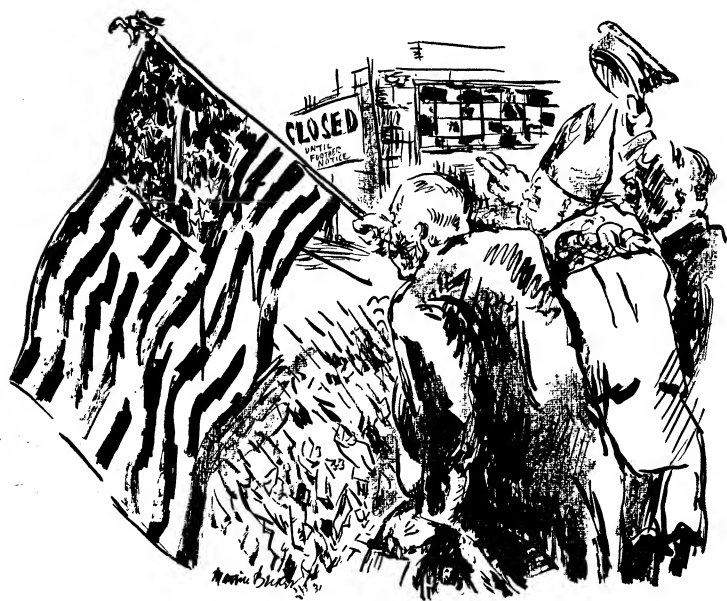
and women, almost all of them students, were arrested and shot or beheaded in Chengtu, the capital of Szechuen. No trials were held, no proof demanded. After the victims were killed, the Chinese character for “Communist” was carved in their flesh with knives. One report says: “A hole is also made in the stomach with a knife, and a little flag bearing the word ‘Communist’ is stuck in the hole.” In January, 1931, a report from Chengtu, the capital of Szechuen, says that up to that date the number of students beheaded in that city was over 300.

The executions in Shanghai are never made public by the military authorities, and neither the Chinese nor the British press will publish such news. The Left Writers’ League of China made a recent international appeal, exposing the execution of five of its members; four were shot and one buried alive in wholesale executions in Shanghai on February 7th, 1931, when 25 revolutionaries, one of them a pregnant woman, were executed. Of these, five were buried alive. This was carried out by the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Commanders’ headquarters. The victims were arrested by the foreign police of the International Settlement and turned over to the Chinese.

The reaction has swept over all branches of Chinese life. Chinese bookshops which sell Marxist books have been closed down. In Shanghai alone, the *North China Daily News*, a British imperialist daily, reported on January 30, 1931, that three bookshops were raided and closed in the International Settlement the day before. The report says: “The police seized 64 copies of a pro-Communist book entitled *Marx and Engels*; subsequently the police raided another bookshop and confiscated nine copies of *Russian Peasant Problems and Rules Governing Land*; the third raid seized 20 copies of Bukharin’s *Economic Theories of the Leisure Class*.” Another report from the same paper of February 22, 1931, stated that the manager of Woo Tung bookstore, Shanghai, was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment on a charge of keeping 43 copies of books of a pro-Communist nature for sale. On March 5, 1931, the press of Shanghai, both Chinese and English, reported a historic record: nine bookshops in the International Settlement had been raided and sealed at the request of the Chinese military authorities. At the order of the Nanking Government the largest Chinese publishing house in China, the Commercial Press, suppressed the sale of all English books on Marxism and Leninism in its branches in early spring of this year.

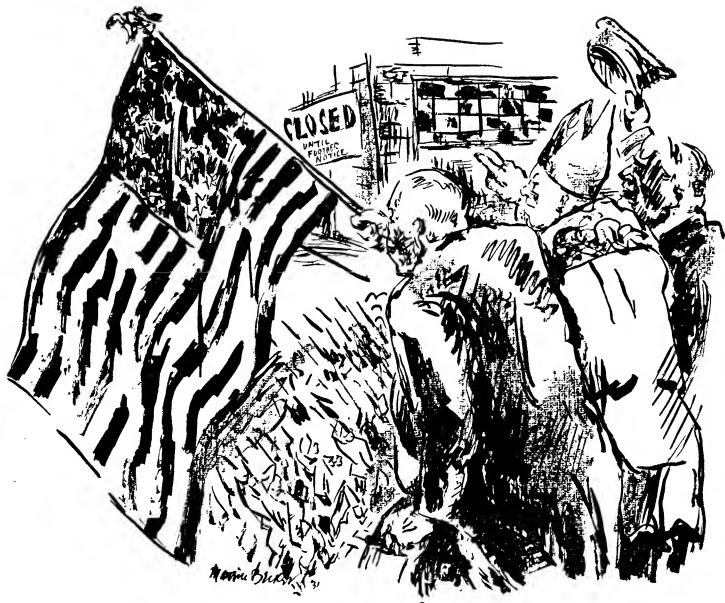
After the suppression of all Left magazines and the confiscation of all Marxian and Leninist literature, bookshops are permitted to exist only if they promise to pay a monthly bribe to the Kuomintang officials. One suppressed bookshop was permitted to open again after paying a heavy bribe to the Kuomintang officials. Now a new order has been passed that every modern bookshop is forced to publish at best one monthly magazine, of the so-called “Nationalist and Sun Yat-sen Literature” under the editorship and control of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang is trying to bribe well-known writers to leave the Left-wing writers and work for these magazines of reactionary mediocrity. The New Press Law promulgated on January 9, 1931, provides in Chapter IV, article 19 that “Publications shall not publish the following: (a) Articles attacking the Kuomintang or the ‘Three Peoples Principles,’ etc.

The reaction is not only high and broad, but also deep. Printing shops may be raided by the police at any and every moment, and if anti-imperialist or anti-Nanking Government literature is found, the workers of the shop are arrested. In the public libraries or the libraries of universities or schools no book on Marxism or Leninism, and no novel of a left—that is, a social tendency—is permitted to be kept. A report from the Chinese press of March 10, 1931, stated that General Ho Chien, Chairman of Hunan Provincial Government, has especially exposed his vicious ignorance by issuing an order in Hunan prohibiting all schools from using children’s textbooks in which there are conversations between the Teddy Bear and the Cock. “Neither the Bear nor the Cock,” Ho Chien declared, “can use the human language, and furthermore it is an insult to the human race to suggest that they can; if such a text-book were permitted to continue existence,



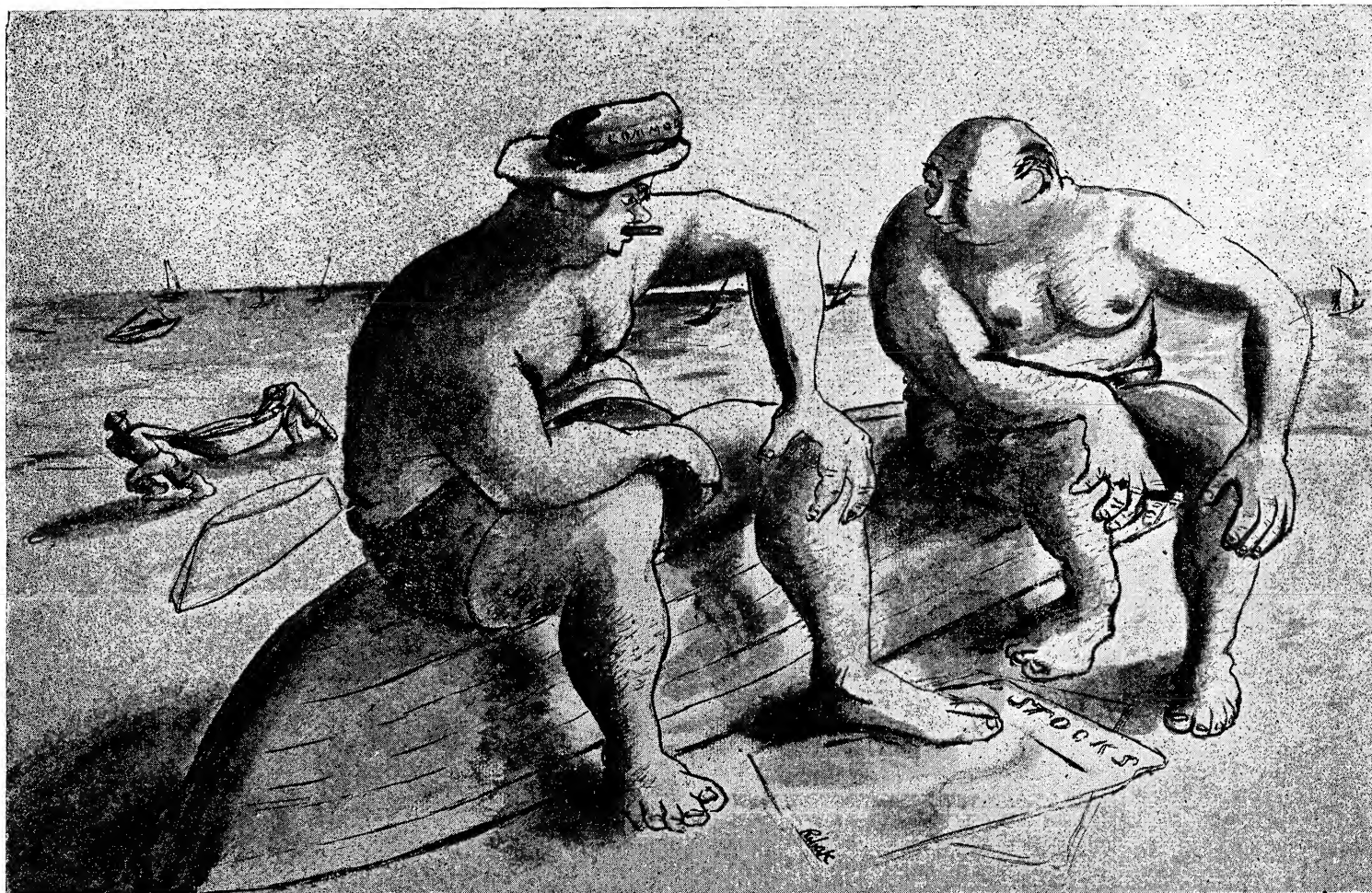
Maurice Becker

THE MILITIA LEAVES FOR THE COAL FIELDS.



Maurice Becker

THE MILITIA LEAVES FOR THE COAL FIELDS.



"ANOTHER WAR WOULD DO THE TRICK . . ."

Louis Ribak

soon children would begin thinking that human beings are no better than animals." Even intellectuals in the possession of Marxist and Leninist books in their private libraries are accused as Communists,—and most Communists are shot or beheaded. One of the numerous instances of this kind was reported in the *Shanghai Evening Post* of May 4th, 1931, when a translator named Li was arrested on a charge of "being in possession of Communist books"—these being in his own private library. To the militarists, even a novel written by a new Soviet Russian writer is called a "Communist book."

Intelligent teachers and students exist in constant danger of their lives. A report from the *Shanghai Evening Post* of March 31, 1931, stated: "Chinese school-teachers in Kirin Province, Manchuria, must hereafter furnish bond that they will not teach Communism in the schools, according to an order issued by the Kirin government . . . The Principal and a Dean of a middle school in Kirin have been convicted of connection with Chinese Communists, and sentenced to prison for five years each." The *North China Daily News of Shanghai* of April 20 further reported that the authorities of Honan Province had issued an order which read: ". . . any student, or bodies of students, attempting to create trouble in the schools will be brought into court under police charges, just as ordinary criminals."

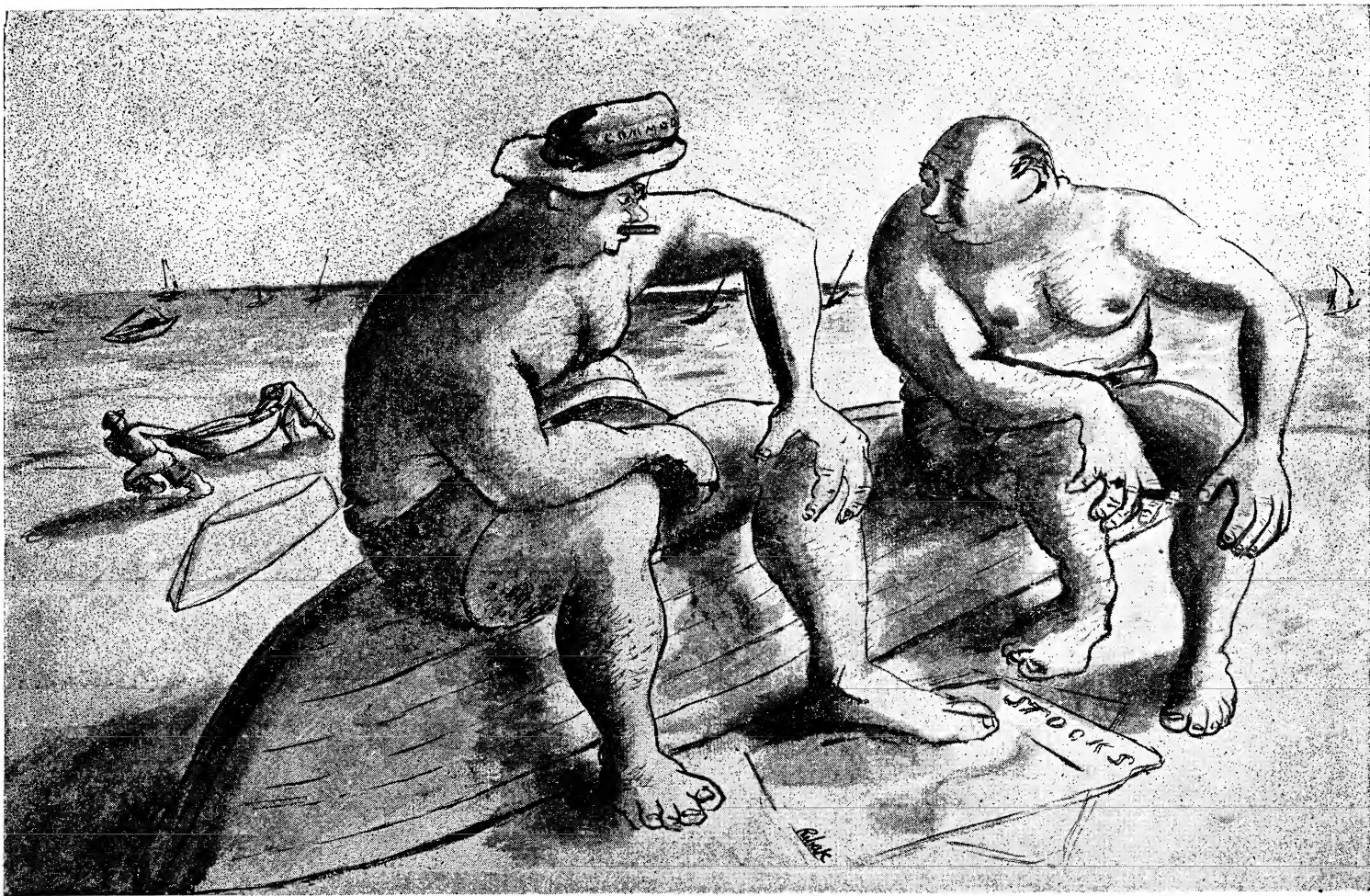
Newspapers and periodicals, too, are suppressed for sale unless they register with the Kuomintang before being published. In Hankow, according to a report in the *Central China Post*, a British-owned daily, of April 2, 1931, the military authorities recently issued an order forbidding all three, five, and seven-day newspapers to exist further; this order, they say, is to prevent "inflammatory propaganda." But we learn on other authority that these newspapers are suppressed because they report the activities of officials and militarists in the gambling and opium dens of Hankow. This is considered "inflammatory literature!"

Regarding moving pictures, these are mostly imported from America, and only the cheapest and rottenest bourgeois pictures are allowed to be shown. Even *All Quiet on the Western Front* was banned in Nanking. This action, according to the press, followed the receipt at the Foreign Office of an official protest from

the German Legation. The same report says that "before the film was on the screen it was jointly examined and certain parts cut out by the Nanking Municipal Government, the District Kuomintang, and the Foreign Office as suggested by the German Legation." A Soviet-Russian picture, *Storm over Asia*, arrived in Shanghai in early April. It was forbidden in the International Settlement by the imperialist Shanghai Municipal Council, but the Kuomintang took it and used it as their propaganda, cutting the film heavily and in the end attaching a false film showing the Kuomintang banner and the National Flag. Furthermore, when, in it, the oppressed Mongolians defeated the imperialist troops, the Kuomintang of Shanghai has inserted utterly feudal and reactionary screen words: "This is the fate of Heaven!"

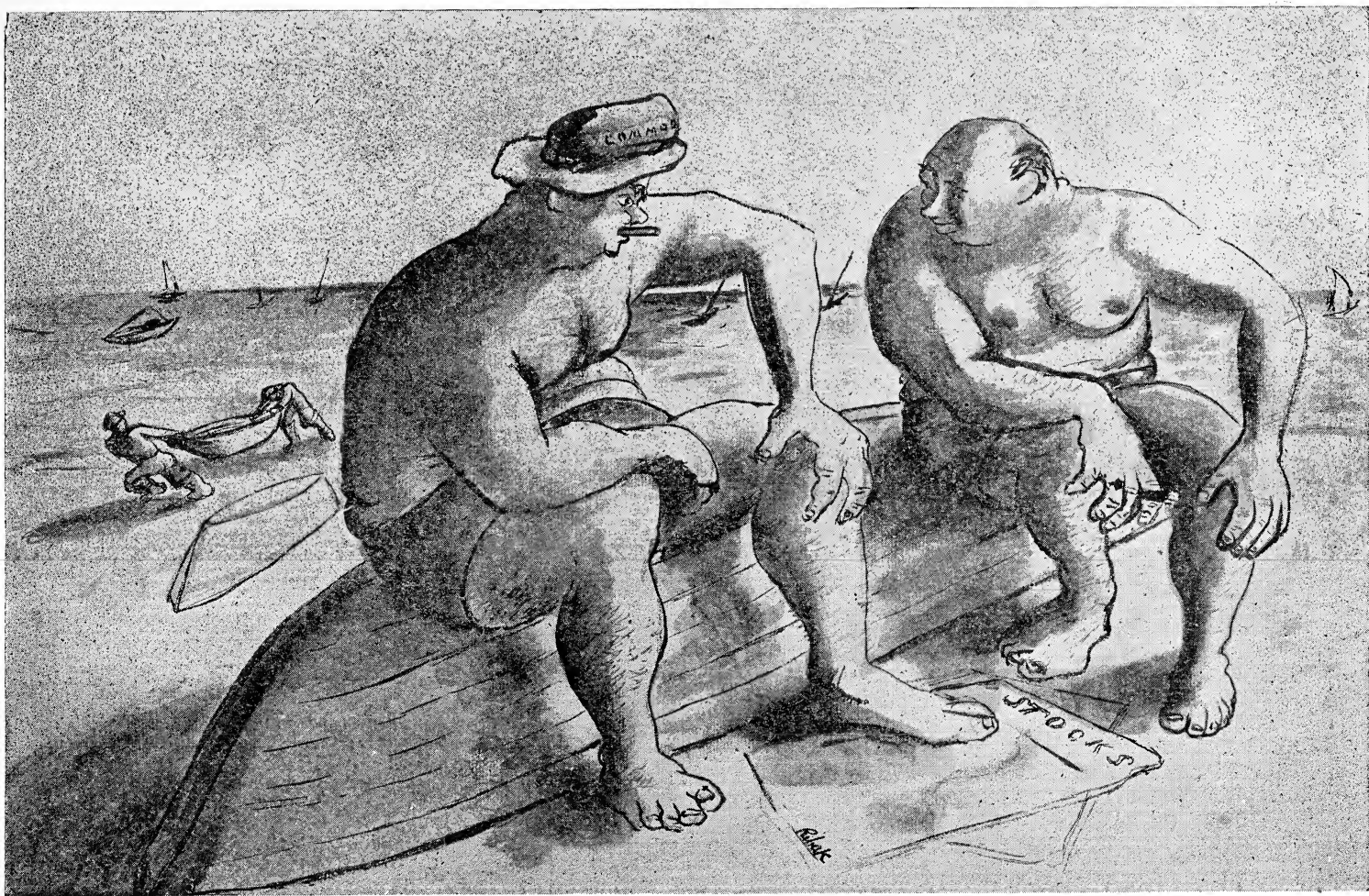
After every revolutionary cultural organization or publication was suppressed, a "Cultural Development Society" was formed in April, 1931. Its president is General Chiang Kai-shek, dictator of the Nanking Government, and General Chang Hsueh-liang, the ruler of Manchuria, is vice-president! Among the 102 members of the Board of Directors are ten powerful Generals in various provinces; one of the two women directors is Madame Chang Hsueh-liang, the half-wit wife of the opium addict, General Hsueh-liang; and the other female "cultural" member is Miss Soumi Tcheng, mistress of Dr. Wang Chungwei, (President of Judicial Yuan of Nanking, and of the International Court of Justice of The Hague) a most unscrupulous and reactionary woman, in cahoots with the Gang leaders of Shanghai. No Left writer or intellectual is permitted to be member of this so-called "Cultural Development Society." Just imagine Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang leading a "cultural" movement! They know no more of culture than a monkey knows of public modesty—in fact, their "culture" is on the same level as the modesty of monkeys in a zoo.

Returning to the Left intellectuals, they are fighting in the revolution shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants of China. On May Day of this year, I was told by an employee of a bookstore, students held demonstrations in the bookstores, smashing the so-called "Nationalist and Sun Yat-senism" literature and distributing hand-bills to the employees asking them to take part in the revolution.



"ANOTHER WAR WOULD DO THE TRICK . . ."

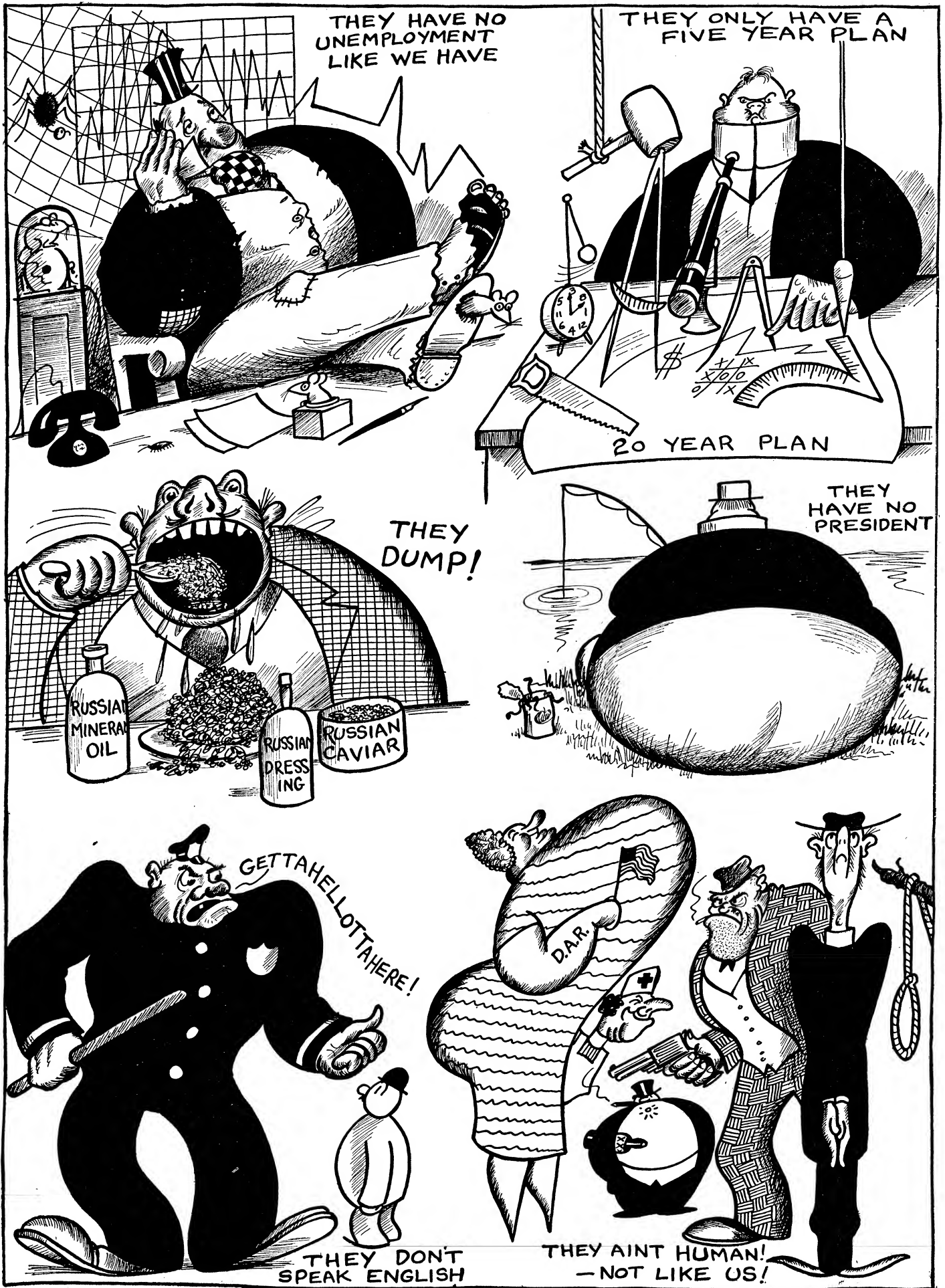
Louis Ribak



"ANOTHER WAR WOULD DO THE TRICK . . ."

Louis Ribak

WHY WE OUGHT TO HAVE A WAR WITH SOVIET RUSSIA



These drawings respectfully submitted to Congress as illustrations for the next edition of the Fish Committee Report (no charge).
—by Otto Soglow

ART IS A WEAPON!

Program of the Workers Cultural Federation

The worldwide crisis of capitalism has intensified the class struggle not only on the economic and political fields, but on the cultural as well. More than ever it is becoming clear to the workers of every country, and to those intellectuals whose economic distress or mental integrity has brought them to the side of the workers in their struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, that art and science, journalism and education, indeed every instrument for moulding the mind and imagination of man, is being utilized by the capitalist class for concealing the truth and for spreading falsehoods regarding the system of exploitation upon which its power rests.

Capitalism has reached a period of material and spiritual decline. Breadlines fill the cities of the various capitalist empires. Millions of workers the world over, with the solitary exception of the Soviet Union, are vainly tramping the streets for jobs. Starvation and misery are widespread. The bourgeois governments are making frantic pretenses of halting the crisis while energetically preparing for the next war. In this critical period it must be clear, more than ever before, to all workers, to all honest intellectuals, that the capitalist class is using the instruments of culture at its disposal for propaganda purposes, sometimes crudely open, sometimes well concealed.

This campaign of capitalist propaganda is carried on through the church, the schools, the newspapers, the magazines, the movie, and the radio. The greatest inventions for the spread of ideas, which in a socialist country like the Soviet Union are used to raise the cultural level of the masses, are used in the United States and other capitalist countries for spreading far and wide lies about the extent of unemployment, lies about the economic crisis, lies about the preparations for war, lies of the tremendous socialist construction being carried out by the workers of the Soviet Union.

This is to be expected. In all class societies the dominating class rules by controlling the instruments of culture along with economic and political power; it rules by disarming the exploited classes culturally as well as economically and politically. In the present crisis in capitalist economy, the fascist elements in every country have not only slashed wages and deprived the workers of economic and political advantages won in previous struggles; but have attacked the cultural strongholds of revolutionary workingclass organizations. The American capitalist class has dropped the mask of "democracy"; it has broken up workers meetings, suppressed workers newspapers, deported foreign-born workers for revolutionary activity, attacked workers organizations, and prohibited the importation of revolutionary books and pamphlets from other countries.

The most cursory glance at American cultural institutions will reveal them at once as instruments of capitalist domination. The American school teacher who ventures the mildest criticism of the fraud and violence by which the bourgeoisie maintains its power is in danger of losing his job. Students who engage in revolutionary activities face persecution and expulsion. The public school systems are adjuncts to corrupt local political machines, while the private colleges and universities are controlled by Wall Street bankers. These institutions drill the students in the capitalist catechism based on patriotism, militarism, hatred and contempt for the workingclass, sacred worship of capitalist society. Similarly, the press is a loyal mouthpiece of the ruling class, presenting to the masses, day in and day out, the capitalist version of all important events, and distracting the attention of the workers from the burning problems which confront them by stressing pornography and crime. The church, through its servile priests, ministers and rabbis, fills the minds of the masses with the most childish superstitions, hands them spiritual opium to make them forget their class interests, identifies the gospel of Jesus with the gospel of J. P. Morgan and brands as heresy and heathenism any effort of the oppressed toilers to better their condition. Keeping pace with the times, the church has now established itself as a recreational and cultural center in order to hold the workers in leash.

Such semireligious institutions as the YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, and YWHA serve the same purpose.

Bourgeois sport, to which the press gives more space than to the most important political and economic questions, has ceased to be sport in any real sense of the word and has become a commercial and profitable form of fraud for profit. The corruption of professional sports, which are often closely connected with the underworld, is notorious. Discrimination against Negroes is rampant in both amateur and professional sports. Not content with the usual sport organizations, which are ballyhooed through the press, the movies and the radio, the capitalists have now resorted to organizing sport teams in the factories as a means of keeping the workers distracted.

From the point of view of reaching the widest masses of the population, the most important cultural instruments are the movies and the radio. Here we have two "arts" monopolized by a handful of capitalists organized in trusts, handling billions of dollars, reaching every day and every evening millions of people. Here bourgeois censorship has full sway. The movie writer, the radio speaker must conform to bourgeois policy or get out. While the literary teas still like to babble about the "freedom of the artist," the radio and the movies turn the American intellectual into a slave whose utterances are controlled in the interests of the sacred rights of private property. On this score even highly paid writers in Hollywood have complained. In the radio and the movie we have reached the *industrialization of art*, under capitalism the mass production of bourgeois ideas. It is no wonder that Hollywood turns out dozens of insipid films of "passion" and racketeering, while completely ignoring the life of the masses of the population; it is no wonder that workers organizations cannot broadcast over the radio.

Capitalist culture in the twentieth century is imperialist culture. The American ruling class exports capital to foreign coun-



"SO I'M YELLAH, AM I?"



Phil Bard

"SO I'M YELLAH, AM I?"

tries—and movies. American gunboats and missionaries are sent to China; American schools are opened in Cuba, Haiti, China, the Philippines for the sons of the middle classes who are trained to become efficient betrayers of their people while keeping the masses in ignorance. Beneath this upper crust of "Western culture," imperialism preserves intact the stagnant pre-capitalist cultural forms and levels, preventing the development of an independent national culture.

Within the United States itself this cultural domination is most evident in the case of the Negro. Negro children in the South (and in many northern states), when they get any schooling at all, are segregated in Jimcrow schools that are vastly inferior to the white schools. Most southern states spend from four to ten times as much on the education of white children as on Negro children. In contrast, Negro preachers, bible-thumpers and holy-rollers of all kinds flourish amidst the economic, social and cultural exploitation of the Negro. In the North the Negro is patronized culturally, kept at the level of a blues-singer and tap-dancer for the amusement of tired businessmen and white thrill-hounds.

To the culture of capitalism in decay the new culture of the Soviet furnishes a striking contrast. For the first time in history, a true mass culture on a high level (as distinguished from the culture of primitive Communism which was based on a very low development of the productive forces) is being developed. The entire working population of the Soviet Union is participating in the creation of a new culture, molding it on the basis of their own lives and struggles.

"Art belongs to the people," said Lenin. "It must have its deepest roots in the broad mass of the workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts and desires. It must arouse and develop the artist in them." In contrast to the spiritual exhaustion, mysticism and despair of bourgeois literature, there is tremendous vitality and a creative strength in Soviet literature, rooted in the shops and factories and fields, fertilized constantly by the worker and peasant correspondents. In the other arts even bourgeois specialists are forced to express their admiration. It has become a commonplace that the Soviet drama and cinema (particularly the latter) lead the world. The cultural revolution in Soviet Russia, which is an integral part of the social revolution, has given complete cultural, as well as political autonomy to the numerous nationalities that were formerly oppressed by Russian czarism and imperialism. Stalin's formulation: "proletarian culture—national in form, proletarian in content" is being realized in life. Soviet culture is not only aiding the struggles and developing the creative powers of the Russian masses, but is a mighty force helping to undermine the domination of bourgeois culture throughout the world. In every capitalist country, in varying degree, we already see the birth of a proletarian culture within the womb of capitalist society. Just as the epoch of the bourgeois revolution witnessed the upsurge of bourgeois culture, so the epoch of the proletarian revolution is producing a powerful development of cultural activities among the workingclass.

In performing its historic mission of creating the material basis for the socialist society, capitalism also creates the basis for socialist culture. The development of the press, the spread of literacy, the establishment of publishing houses, libraries, the movies, the radio, in short, the entire cultural apparatus of capitalism becomes the foundation for mass proletarian culture and the arsenal from which the workers take their cultural weapons even before the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The possibilities for the development of proletarian culture in the United States have been immensely widened by the economic crisis which has shaken the pillars of capitalist society, has radicalized the workers, as well as large numbers of intellectuals, and destroyed in them the illusions about "prosperity," "the American standard of living," etc., which the ruling class had so carefully cultivated.

The economic crisis has roused many intellectuals out of their indifference to social questions and has brought them closer to the workers. Thousands of engineers, musicians, teachers, writers, artists and newspapermen are walking the streets unable to find jobs. Even before the crisis, rationalization (speedup), technological improvements (e.g. the movietone) and trustification (e.g. newspaper mergers) had thrown large quantities of skilled mental

labor out on the streets. Here too the anarchy of capitalist production plays its part. The colleges and universities "produce" thousands of teachers, engineers, chemists, etc., for an unknown "market" which is already glutted and cannot absorb these surplus "commodities." And as in industry, we find that skilled mental labor is being dumped into the ranks of the relatively unskilled. Many lawyers, for example, who imagined that they were "going into business for themselves," have been reduced to the position of little more than clerks for large banks and trust companies. How true today are the words of *The Communist Manifesto*: "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage laborers."

The lowered economic and social status of the intellectuals, coming in the period of the decay of bourgeois culture and the rise of the culture of the proletariat, has produced a deep social ferment among them and a decisive swing to the left on the part of many. This leftward swing is of varying degrees and though it is accompanied by characteristic confusions and vacillations, it is nonetheless immensely significant. The first organizational expression of this radicalization occurred at the very beginning of the economic crisis with the formation in October, 1929, of the first association of revolutionary writers and artists of the United States, the John Reed Club. This gave an impetus to the general proletarian cultural movement, which found organizational form in the Workers Cultural Federation of New York, founded in June 1931.

The Workers Cultural Federation of New York, formed at an enthusiastic conference at which 130 organizations, with a total membership of about 20,000, were represented, comes forward in the most acute period of the capitalist crisis. It is an expression on the cultural front of the will to struggle, on the part of thousands of workers, for the overthrow of the system that makes crises, starvation, misery, and war inevitable. Against reactionary capitalist culture and its liberal, reformist servants we oppose the swiftly developing forces of revolutionary proletarian culture. Against the treacherous policy of cultural class collaboration and the open or concealed support of reactionary organizations, we pursue the policy of class struggle in culture and openly support all the revolutionary organizations of the workingclass. Against ideological reaction, fascism, mysticism, liberal tightrope walking and pseudo-scientific apologetics that have become the platform of the cultural representatives of capitalism, we stand firmly on the platform of dialectical materialism, on the discoveries and teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

For many years American workingclass organizations of various nationalities have been engaged in some form of cultural activity. This activity has, however, been uncoordinated and has affected for the most part only the foreign-language workers. Little cultural islands have grown up among the various nationalities and though all have common aims, there has been no contact among them. Moreover, this work has been confined largely to the big cities and to the advanced workers, while the broad masses in the shops and factories, and especially the native-born workers, have not been touched at all.

It was to remedy these defects and to broaden and develop cultural activity as a weapon in the struggles of the workers that the Workers Cultural Federation of the New York District was formed—the first step toward a nation-wide federation of all proletarian cultural groups. The Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Kharkov Conference of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, held last year, gave the immediate impetus to the establishment of the federation. The experiences of the highly developed proletarian cultural movements in Soviet Russia and Germany have shown us the way. That way is: into the shops and trade unions! The revolutionary trade unions must, in fact, become the base of all the cultural work, from which it will penetrate into the other mass organizations, into isolated industrial and farming communities, into strike struggles and political campaigns, into all the activities of the workingclass.

The broad masses must be the basis for all our work and not merely the advanced workers. Special attention must be paid to the Negroes among whom the influence of the church is especially pernicious. It is our job to develop cultural activities with a

AUGUST, 1931

special appeal to the Negro masses and to draw Negroes into the already existing cultural organizations. In this work the co-operation of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights is essential. Similarly, the Latin-American workers in the United States, who like the Negroes, bear the burden of a double oppression, are sorely in need of cultural organizations.

Strong ties with the worker correspondence and shop paper movements are essential if we are really to be close to the masses and respond to their needs. New and more varied forms of cultural activity need to be developed. Of paramount importance is the creation of a strong proletarian anti-religious movement to free the workers from the strangle-hold of the church.

The youth, both proletarian and intellectual, holds not only the future of the proletarian cultural movement, but its dynamic, vitalizing present. The Labor Sports Union, the radical students' clubs and the Pioneer movement must be given all possible aid and their work coordinated with that of the other cultural groups.

Coordination of activity, broadening of our work to include larger numbers of workers and radicalized intellectuals, an interchange of material and experience, the development of greater internationalism among the workers in this country, relentless struggle against bourgeois culture, the development of a great mass proletarian culture to vitalize the lives of the workers and aid them in their struggles—these, in brief, are the aims of the Workers Cultural Federation. They can be achieved only on the basis of the platform adopted at the Kharkov Conference which urged support of the workers revolutionary movement, struggle against imperialist war and in defense of the Soviet Union, struggle against fascism and its "socialist" twin brother, social-fascism, struggle against the persecution of Negroes and the foreign-born, struggle for the release of all political prisoners, which include many cultural workers.

The struggle against imperialist war and in defense of the Soviet Union is especially important because of the widespread illusions that exist on this question. In the last war most of the writers, artists, scientists, teachers and other intellectuals went over bag and baggage to the imperialist governments and did their best to lead the workers in the same direction. Today many of them are consciously or unconsciously doing the same sort of work, aiding in the ideological preparation of the new war, a war which will most probably be directed against Soviet Russia. To deny the war danger is to bury one's head in the sands; the Workers Cultural Federation calls on all American workers, farmers and intellectuals to unite in the struggle against the criminal war preparations of the American government which spends billions for war, but not one cent for unemployment relief. We call on them to defend the Soviet Union.

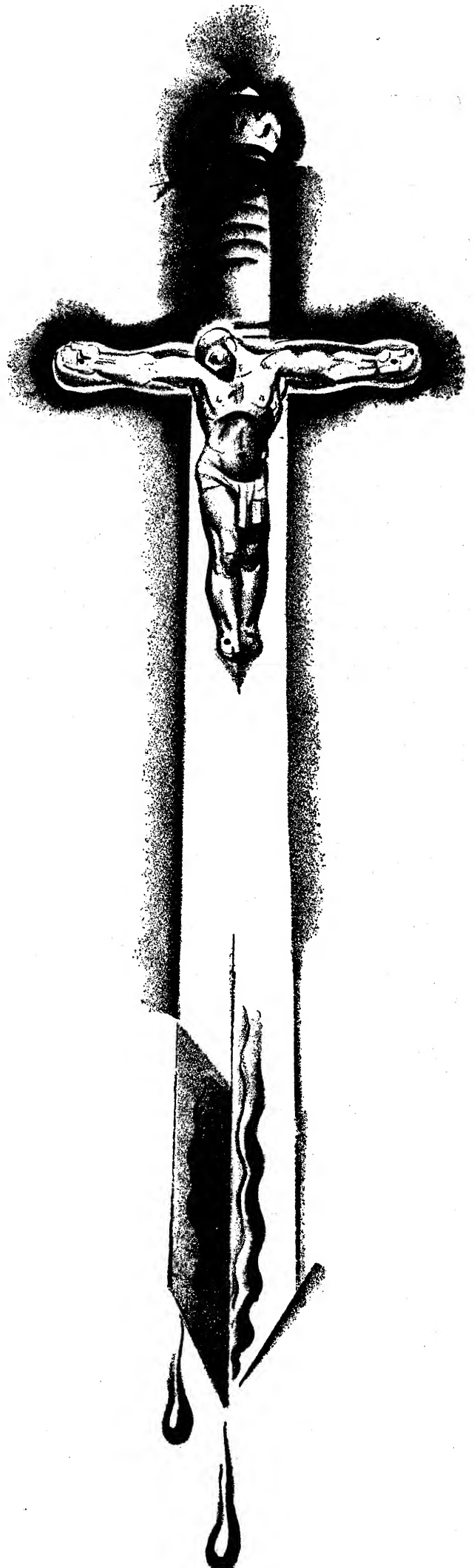
Our federation emerges at one of the critical moments of history, the moment when the struggle between two systems of civilization has entered a decisive stage. We enter this struggle in order to hasten the death of the old world; we enter it in unshakable faith in the creative powers of the workingclass and in its ultimate triumph. Among the working masses in shop, mine, mill and field, among the toiling and thinking youth of America our work will be noted. To all those who like Romain Rolland and Theodore Dreiser, by their opposition to the old world of oppression, of hypocrisy, lies and corruption, already stand in the ranks of the fighters for the new, we hold out the hand of comradeship. The proletarian revolt sweeps on; whatever the vicissitude of its fortunes, it sweeps on to victory.

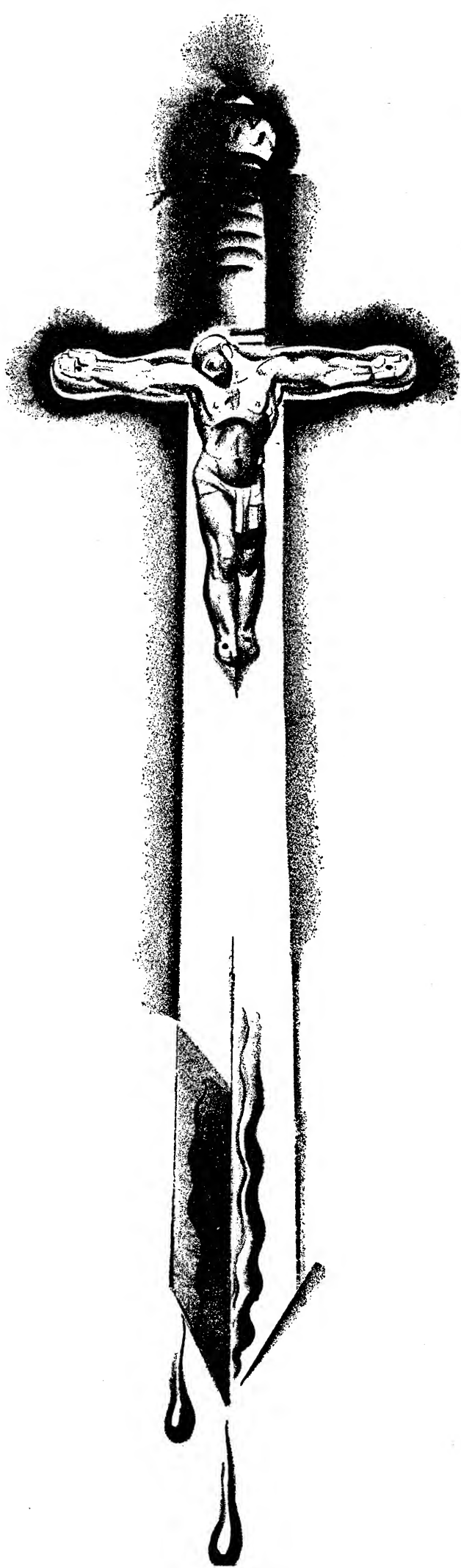
July 25, 1931.

WORKERS CULTURAL FEDERATION.

W. Howitt, in *Colonization and Christianity*: "The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth!"

From a page out of Capital, by Karl Marx, as interpreted in lithographs by Hugo Gellert.





AN AMERICAN TAKES A SOVIET WIFE

The matter of personal relations in Soviet Russia today, the problems of marriage and divorce, are questions that are continuously being asked of every recent visitor to Soviet Russia. We believe the following story, a letter recently received by one of our readers, answers these questions in a most interesting way. It was written by an American anthropologist who has been in Soviet Russia for over a year, working in various scientific institutes.—*Editors.*

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear——

Some weeks ago I was astounded when a nurse brought a patient in to me to hear him talk United States. Finding what a relief it was not to have to enunciate slowly and distinctly, and liking the fellow, I cultivated his acquaintance. He came over here, just as I did, on his own, and got a job at Russian pay in the tractor works. He had a problem of a personal nature on his hands, as he soon told me, and I suggested to him that we consult Kamen (colleague of writer—ed), who delights in working out problems for foreigners. The rest I quote from my diary:

Sept. 20. Today, in company with N. and Kamen, went to a law office, called a juriconsult clinic, to get matrimonial advice for the former. We entered a large room directly off the street. There were six tables behind each of which sat a lawyer, often with a student at his side. Only one typewriter in evidence—the Russians either have too much sense to involve their legal procedure in the endless phraseology and paper work that characterize our own or else, fortunately, they lack the equipment. Some of the jurists were women, and Kamen, who has an unerring instinct in such matters, led the way to one of these. It developed that she was only a student; soon a slightly older woman joined her.

"This American," began Kamen, "has intention to marry. His first question is, in case of divorce, what would be his liability for alimony?"

"In case the woman should be without work at the time of the divorce, he would have to pay her alimony until she got a job, but in no case for more than six months."

"Ask what about it if she didn't want to go to work and hadn't got a job by the end of six months."

"A case of that kind would not happen probably. At all events, your liability would end after six months. But if she should be ill, and the cause of her illness arose during the term of the marriage, you would be obliged to support her for one year, after which the burden would fall on the state. However, the obligation is binding on her in the same way if you should be without work or if you should fall ill. Alimony usually amounts to a third of the husband's or wife's pay."



Jacob Burck

HEYWOOD BROWN: LEADING LADY

"Since she earns half again as much as I do," commented N., "it's a good bet—or would be except that I'm so darned healthy since I got away from my wife in Kansas and the nervous indigestion that her nagging gave me. Ask her what my rights are."

Kamen interpreted and there was a long discussion between him and the lawyer—I think neither of them understood just what he meant. I didn't, but Kamen is too proud of his English ever to admit that he doesn't understand.

"She says that as a husband you would have no rights except to get a divorce if not suited. And the same holds for the woman."

"I mean," said N "would children, if any, bear my name, and could I take them to America with me—would they be American citizens?"

"Children born on Russian soil, one of whose parents is Russian, are Russians. If both parents are aliens, children born on Russian soil can choose which nationality they will take on coming of age."

"And what about the woman's citizenship?"

"She remains a Russian citizen—Russia permits her citizens to alienate themselves to take new citizenship only in countries which welcome Russian citizens."

"Could she come to America with me?"

"It would be difficult to arrange. Only one case has come under my observation—an American married a woman here and wanted to take her back with him. His wife was refused a passport. The American got affidavits that the woman was his wife and went to America and laid his case before Senator Borah. Senator Borah requested the Russian government to let the woman come, and the government did."

"Ask her about a case like this: Suppose there'd be a child and a divorce and a sum for the maintenance of the child; could the woman tie me up so that I couldn't go where I wanted to?"

"She could not."

"She couldn't keep me from going back home if I wanted to?"

"She could not."

"What about taking the child to America?"

"You could take the child if the mother consented. Otherwise it would be a case for the courts to decide."

"Does the matrimonial alliance go under one name or two, and whose?"

"As a matter of practice, husband and wife often keep their own names, though officially they have the same name. They can choose which name they will take—the husband's or the wife's."

"Her name's so foreign, I wouldn't think of going under it—if she expects that of me, the deal's off. Well, I guess that's about all. Ask what the bill is."

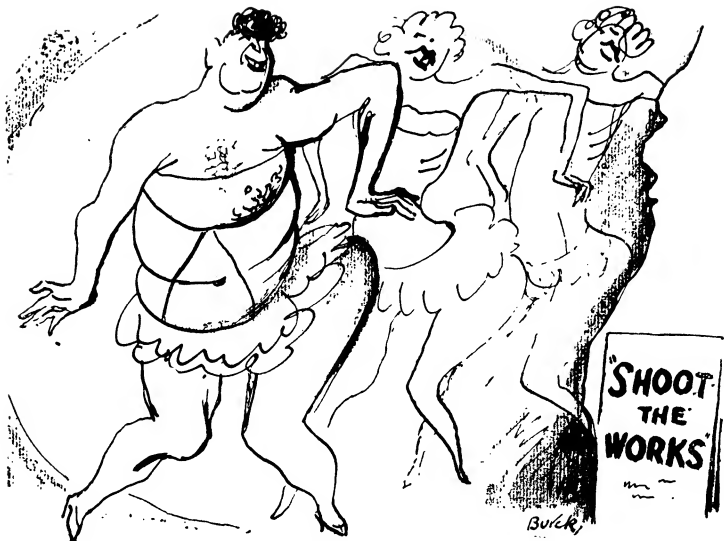
"Please pay the cashier."

As we turned toward the cashier's booth, I heard the Nerissa remark something to the Portia about the *Amerikantsi* being *ochen prakticheski leudi* ("the Americans are very practical people").

At the cashier's booth N. was asked his status, and proudly gave it as "factory worker" that being the highest of all and his pay as 170 roubles. The cashier made a calculation and told him that the fee in his case was 1 r. 65 k. (62½ cents!)

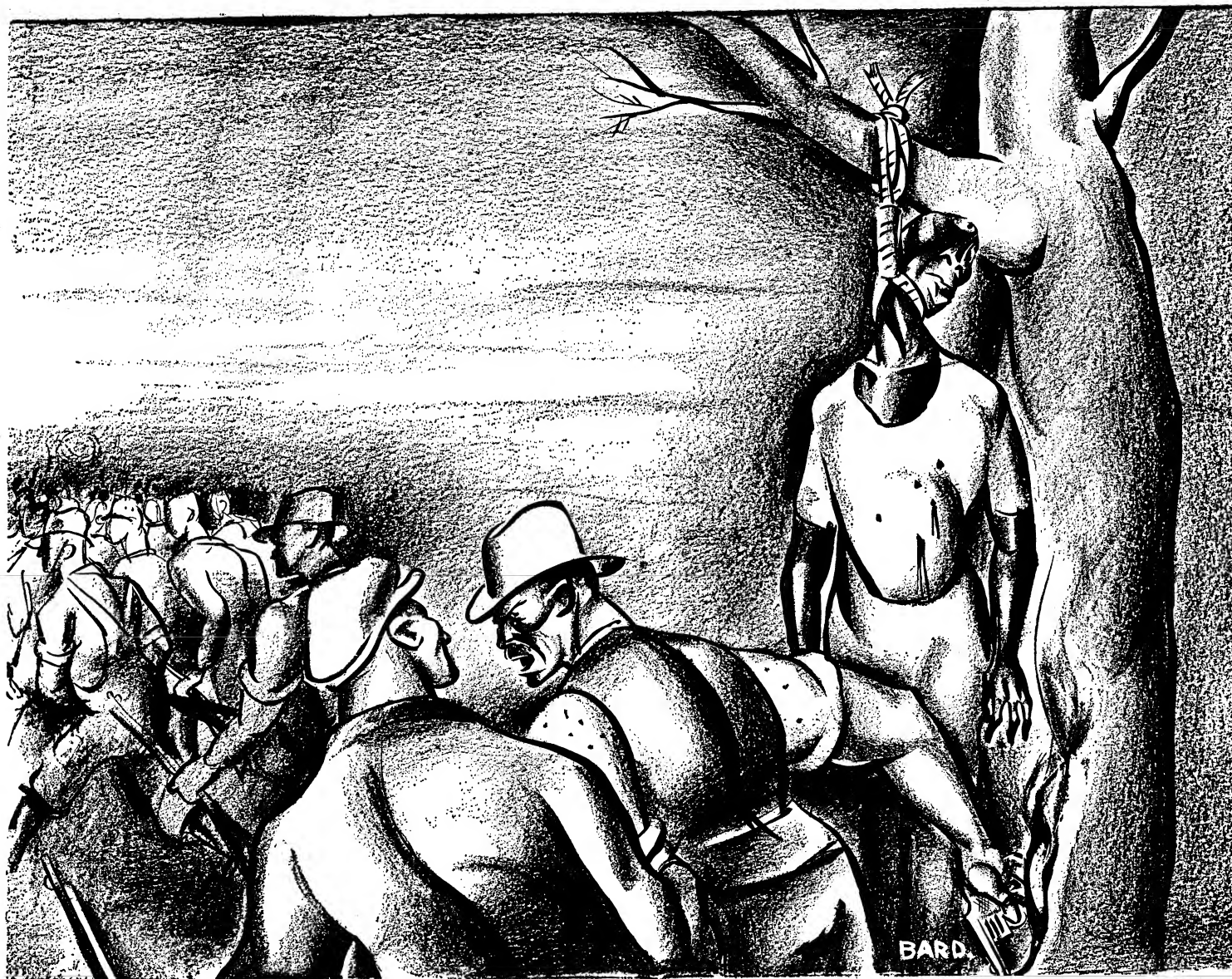
By this time I was quite interested in the case and asked to be allowed to go with them to Zakc. (Marriage Registration Bureau). Zakc ought to keep long hours, but doesn't—it closes at 2 o'clock. Accordingly N. had to have his free day shifted to the same day as his fiancée's. He could have waited till the first of the month and changed it himself, but having decided on a career of matrimony he didn't want to wait. So he asked the foreman if he could change and the foreman said it was forbidden. Then he told the reason and the foreman allowed the change if he could get somebody else to change, which N. easily did.

Sept. 26. At 9 o'clock with N. and bride to Zakc. I imagine N. is a lucky man—the bride is very interesting, a roly-poly dynamo of energy; she is cashier in a factory—quite a responsible job. She has a boy of 11—he was not there, being in school. Zakc



Jacob Burck

HEYWOOD BROWN: LEADING LADY



"BY THE WAY SHERIFF, WHAT DID THAT NIGGER DO?"

Phil Bard

for that ward is in what was formerly a hotel. We went into a sumptuously furnished waiting room with large mirrors and enormous upholstered chairs whose splendour was hidden by chair covers. Three couples were waiting; two as if veterans, one quite self-conscious. N. and the bride went to the cashier's booth, where they gave their status and were told that the fee would be 7r. 50k. A scale of prices was on the wall. It ranges from nothing at all in the case of anybody without work to 7.50. Divorce costs twice as much, and is often, I suppose, cheap at that.

At one side were two rooms, one for marriages, the other for births, deaths, and divorces. Divorces must be less frequent than marriages, because there is time to take care of the births and deaths along with them. Finally N's turn came and we went in. A woman was seated behind a plain table, with some registers before her. On the wall were three posters.

1. "Remember, that on entering marriage you ought to strive strongly for the new society and aid the new life."

2. "A warning against entering marriage while suffering from venereal disease."

3. "Fakteecheski (I think "Common-law") marriages may be registered at any time whatever."

N. and the bride were asked their nationality, number of times divorced before, age, whether working, what pay and status, number of children, and does couple take man's or woman's name? I think that was all. I am sure she asked nothing about venereal disease, though I am told that the question is always asked in the case of young couples.

We left the little room and saw a couple entering accompanied by their friends, bearing gaudy artificial bouquets—quite a wedding party.

The day was cold and rainy, so we could not go to the palace at Gatchina about fifteen miles away. Instead we went to the art

museum and the ethnographic museum. Then we went to the bride's home, to which N. moved the day before. There we had a delightfully cooked fish for the wedding feast.

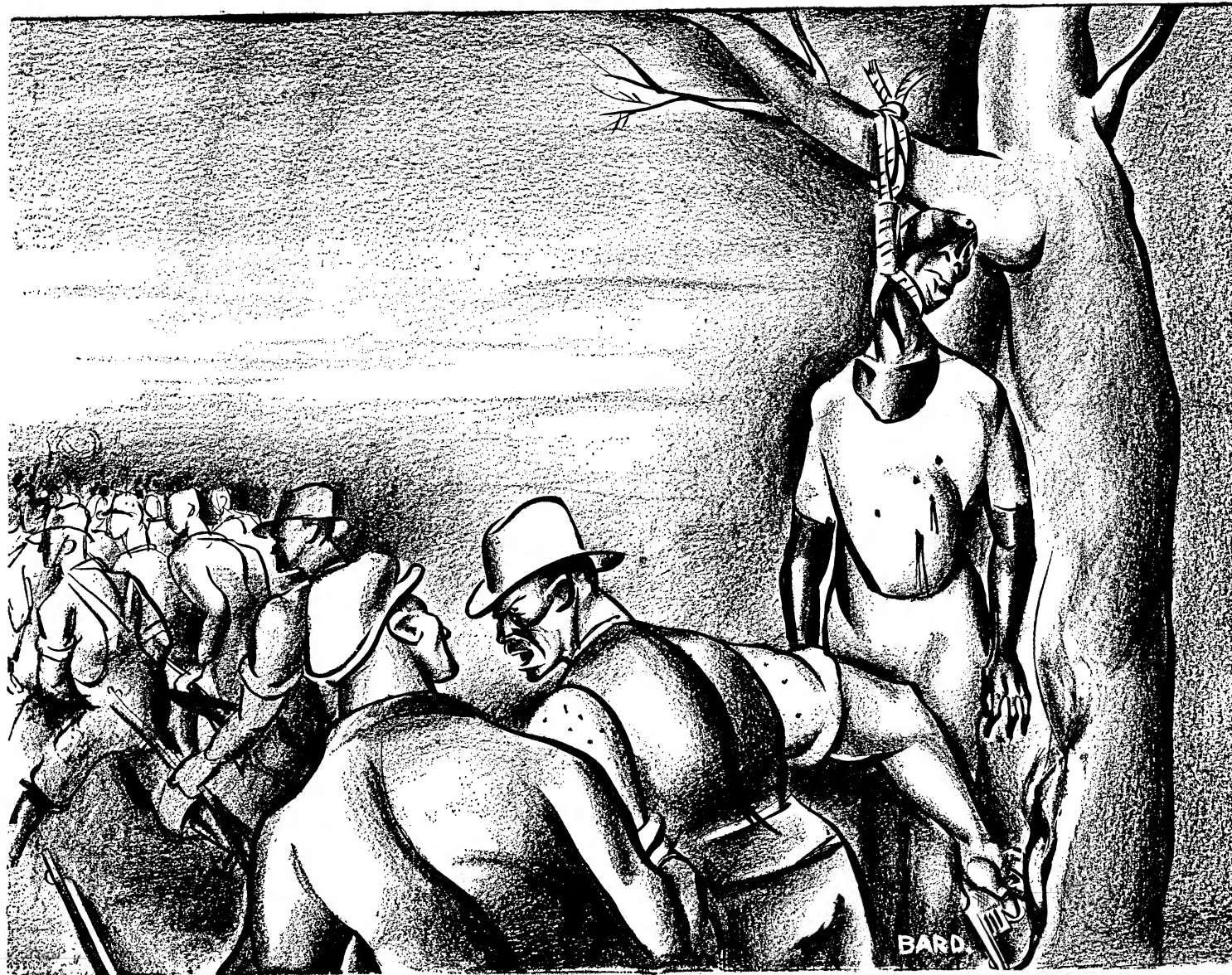
N. is about 50. He has roamed quite a bit, but according to his story was really settled when he married his book-keeper in a garage he was running in Kansas, and she did him out of most all he had and hooked him for alimony besides. He is a handsome fellow, but very naive. He thinks the communists are the same as socialists. He has the art of using one word from his paltry stock of Russian to express a whole thought—usually a funny one.

The widow (as he still calls her) is the daughter of provincial nobility. She told me that the new regime had taught her to work and that she had never had any trouble on account of her birth; though of course she gives herself no airs because of it. She has fine furniture and is a very neat housekeeper. Best of all, she is of the disposition that loves to have a man to groom. I imagine N. will never return to the States. He has taught the widow a little English. In fact, at the wedding feast she remarked that she had, now, "two sons oma beetch" to look after, and has learned to say goddam and Jesus Christ. The boy is very pleased, too; seems to have craved a Daddy without knowing it; his own died when he was a baby. N. has taught him "Well, why don't you work, like other men do," and "you'll get pie in the sky when you die," which he told him were Amerikanski communist songs.

Justice

*That Justice is a blind goddess
Is a thing to which we poor are wise:
Her bandage hides two festering sores
That once, perhaps, were eyes.*

LANGSTON HUGHES.



"BY THE WAY SHERIFF, WHAT DID THAT NIGGER DO?"

Phil Bard



PAYOFF OF THE SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Walter Quirt

ALABAMA MASSACRE by EUGENE GORDON

A few months ago a small group of Negro share-croppers and farm hands of Alabama, driven to desperation by hunger and the sense of the futility of appealing to Southern ruling class "justice," met and discussed means of organizing. Most of these men were illiterate. They met without any definite idea as to precisely what form their purposed organization would take. They were woefully ignorant of the stencils and the catch-phrases of the intellectual economist. They knew only that they were starving; that their families were indentured slaves at the mercy of the ruling class whites of that community; that there was no efficacy in prayers to an allwise and all-white god; that if they did not move to fight against the terrors of their new slavery they would be exterminated. But they met and they talked among themselves. They decided in their meeting, and in subsequent meetings, that they must be the nucleus of a permanent organization, the purpose of which would be to fight for the relief of the present-day slaves of the South. Out of that small beginning there grew an organization of from 700 to 800 black share-croppers and farm workers.

Hearing of their revolutionary efforts to organize, the Southern branch of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights consulted with them and offered them such assistance as they seemed to need. One of the startling facts revealed to the L.S.N.R. was that some of these black backwoodsmen had regularly been reading the *Southern Worker*, and, reading it, had experienced a flaring up of their smoldering revolutionary fires. Since most of the men could not read, it is evident that their knowledge of what the *Southern Worker* said came from discussions with those who could read a little. Many of the older men doubtless saw in this experience a revival of the rebel spirit of sixty five and seventy years ago, when an occasional rebel who had been taught to read at the "big house" shared his precious knowledge with the ignorant men and women of the fields; ignorant men and women who were nevertheless wise enough to know that they would be mercilessly beaten if their masters or the overseer caught them looking at any kind of printed matter.

The more literate among the Camp Hill share-croppers and farm hands read the revolutionary messages from the *Southern Worker*, and a sense of the degradation that had been forced upon them by the greedy and heartless landowners flared into their consciousness. But what is more important than that, they realized that sporadic and individual assaults upon their oppressors would bring them nothing but defeat and death. It was not their intention to organize guerilla bands to harass the wealthy landowner-oppressor by ambush attacks; it was their purpose only to organize so that the force of their demands for "justice" would

have the keener effect. They were astute enough to know that the South has never respected anything but organized force.

They had not been meeting very long before the landowners learned of the organization. That is to say, the landowners learned that the Negroes were coming together regularly and that all these meetings were not designed to the glory of God and the white bosses. Some of the meetings were held in the church; some of them, in order that suspicion might be diverted, were held at the houses of members of the organization. By this time the organization had been officially named the Share-Croppers Union, and it is here that the League of Struggle for Negro Rights further assisted. The white landowners, now thoroughly frightened at these mysterious goings on of the black peasantry, assumed that plans were being laid to attack them.

On Wednesday night July 15 about 150 of the 800 or so members of the Negroes' organization met to formulate the demands they had been discussing. The landowners must have been on the lookout, for the meeting was no sooner under way than a number of them appeared, accompanied by the chief of police and scores of landowners sworn in temporarily as "deputies." On the outside of the meeting house, located in a lonely and isolated spot, Ralph Gray, one of the active organizers of the share-croppers union, stood on guard. He was one of the two armed Negroes. The Sheriff's party fired wounding Gray. They invaded the meeting, and were momentarily halted by the revolver of the chairman. Outnumbered by armed and murderous landowners backed by southern "justice," the share-croppers strategically gave way. Some of them rescued the wounded man in the dark. They called in a physician to attend his wounds, and the physician tattled to the mob. As a consequence a larger force of "deputies," led by the gallant sheriff, set out a night or two later to finish Gray, whom they looked upon as the leader. But the share-croppers had been reading the *Southern Worker* and so knew something about organized resistance to capitalist thug attack. They were expecting a counter attack and were prepared. Displayed about the house in the woods, they lay waiting. When the sheriff's gang of two hundred or more approached the house, it began immediately to fire. It fired round after round into the shack where the wounded man lay. It was surprised by an answering fire from the woods. The leader of the gang, Sheriff J. Kyle Young, was (according to the *Birmingham News*) "critically wounded," and one of his deputies was "slightly wounded." The *News* makes no mention of the others in the gang who were wounded. Several of the share-croppers were wounded and four were accounted "missing" after the fight. Gray was finally killed and his wife's skull fractured by members of the gang.

Perhaps no better summing up could be made than that which was written by a correspondent for the International Labor Defense, which immediately assumed defense of the 32 share-croppers who were locked up. The I.L.D. statement says: "The share-croppers' union has been in process of organization during the past few months against miserable starvation wages. The plantation owners planned to cut off the share-croppers from all food advances, giving a small number the alternative of working in the fields or sawmills at wages of sixty to ninety cents a day. The organized lynchings were after the members and leaders of the union. The share-cropper's demands as formulated up to the time of the massacre were: 1. Food advances to continue until settlement time; 2. Settlement to be made in full by cash payment; 3. The share-croppers to have the right to sell their crops where they saw fit; 4. To have the right of a garden for their home use; 5. A three-hour midday rest."

These miserable crumbs are what the black farm workers were planning to ask for; these miserable crumbs were what some of them died for.

The white share-croppers of that section are secretly with the Negroes; their confusion of mind prevents their being actively with them. But they have been awakened. The blacks have shown them how to die like free men. They themselves being less than free.



PAYOFF OF THE SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Walter Quirt

BOOKS

Reviewed by Charles Yale Harrison, Jack Conroy, Walt Carmon

The Road Back, by Erich Maria Remarque... Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

The Kaiser's Coolies, by Theodor Plivier. A. Knopf. \$2.50.

1918—the last year of the World War. 1931—in all probability, the last year of the “peace.” Just as the era of “peace” was ushered in by the collapse of the German monarchy so the era of war is signalized by the collapse of the German bourgeoisie. Reminiscent of 1918 one hears of food riots in German cities, workers’ clashes with the police—the tell-tale evidences of a tottering State.

It is significant, therefore, that in this period of pre-war activity Erich Maria Remarque’s *The Road Back* should tell the story of a group of German soldiers who march from the battle front after the war to their homes in the interior. In this march back what does Remarque see? Social chaos, the breakdown of “orderly” processes of government, industrial collapse, and growing out of the chaos—revolution. What does revolution mean to Remarque? It means the end of the fine, soldierly comradeship which existed at the Front, he says.

This comradeship is a lie. It never existed. Here and there it blossomed for a moment, but the exigencies of war, the mass slaughter, the continual breaking up of units, made this impossible. Instructions from the various War Offices of the belligerent Powers warned against this spirit of comradeship. If your companion is wounded during an attack, these instructions read, let him lie. Efforts to save “buddies” were discouraged, and were looked upon by commanding officers as fake heroism. The business of an attack was to take the enemy’s position, nothing else. The business of the soldier in war is to survive at all costs. Men stole food from one another, fought bitterly over the doling out of rations, until, after years of duties in the trenches, if he survived, the veteran soldier was thoroughly brutalized. This companionship, in the last analysis, is a restated version of that old military lie—*esprit de corps*. If *esprit de corps* existed, it existed only in the officers’ mess.

Well, to Remarque, revolution is the end of soldierly companionship. Brother fights brother. Townsman fights townsman. This is regrettable, he says, and if the book has any “message” this is his message.

I should be the last one to deny Remarque’s great talent as a writer. Some of the passages in the book are unforgettable: I think specifically of the parade of mutilated soldiers and the agony of the syphilitic soldier. But when one is finished one asks the question: the road back?—to where?

It is hard for men like Remarque to face the bitter and painful reality of the world of 1931. One therefore escapes—to Nature. The epilogue to *The Road Back* begins with the muted strains of pastoral music: “The earth is smelling of March and violets. Snow drops are showing above the damp mould. The furrows of the field are a shimmering purple . . .”

Soup kitchens in Berlin? Barricades in the Wedding District? The threatened collapse of the Reichsbank? No, no, Comrade, this is the end of companionship, let us not think of it. Only in the solace of Nature lies forgetfulness. But what to do now in this immediate crisis? (Remember *The Road Back* was written in the Germany of today, in the spirit of the mounting crisis). I offer one of the closing paragraphs of the book: “Perhaps I shall never be happy again; perhaps the war has destroyed that and no doubt I shall always be a little inattentive and nowhere quite at home—but I shall probably never be wholly unhappy either—for something will always be there to sustain me—.” Guess what will sustain Remarque as capitalism crashes around his ears? “—my own hands, or a tree, or the breathing earth.”

On the other hand, not all German war writers are hugging Mother Earth with weak, ineffectual embraces. There is Theodor Plivier, whose *The Kaiser's Coolies* is perhaps the first purely

proletarian novel to come out of Germany. It is the story of the crew of a German man-of-war. It is told simply, without the slightest trace of sentimentality, and ends with the remark: “The days of heroic gestures are past.” The last scene in the book is the revolution in the German fleet in 1928. The book is an excellent example of genuine proletarian literature.

To read Remarque’s and Plivier’s books is to read a synthesis of the two dominant German literary schools. Remarque sighs, and Plivier talks in cold, harsh, realistic terms. My liberal friends shudder at the thought of the impending war. It cannot come, they say. Once again one hears the old shibboleths about the destruction of western civilization, that “humanity” will not permit it; but those of us who remember 1914 know that such talk is the purest drivell. When the war comes Hindenburg, Briand, Mellon, Hoover, Creel, Pershing become “humanity” and these gentlemen will not only permit it but sustain it.

There is no way out for “western civilization.” (Read western capitalism). Mellon and Stimson fly madly from one European chancellory to another. American and French finance capitalists snarl over the carcass of Germany, over a struggle for a financial leadership. The leadership for what purpose? To direct the fight against the Soviet Union. For while Hoover mouths his idiotic blather about “rugged individualism” and a system founded on “personal initiative,” Mellon knows full well that capitalism, already dying of its own virus, cannot exist unless it gorges itself on life-blood of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. This is the situation on the eve of 1931.

CHARLES YALE HARRISON.

Home Work for Fish

Labor and Lumber, by Charlotte Todes. (illustrated) International Publishers. Board. \$1.00 Cloth \$2.00.

This volume should direct the attention of Hon. J. Hamilton Fish and other professional witch-hunters who wail and tear their shirts over the “menace” of Russian dumping and the sad plight of soviet timber workers toward a different quarter. There is ample need for an investigation right here at home, but it is extremely unlikely that the philanthropic and devoted patriots whose bosoms throb with compassion for all mankind will undertake it.

In the beginning the Government handed over the virgin forests to the railroads on a silver platter, and the lumber interests in turn acquired them for little or nothing. Underpaid and exploited workers are housed in squalor and isolated among sordid discomforts which seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. James Stevens, chronicler of Paul Bunyan, and the fellows who grind out pulp-paeans on the jolly life of the lumberjack, heigh ho! Harried from job to job, displaced by labor saving machinery, constantly attended by the grisly spectre of unemployment, the lumber workers have risked and lost their lives in amassing incredible fortunes for the lumber barons. Frederick Weyerhaeuser, one who got in on the ground floor, when he died left a modest nest egg of \$300,000,000 distilled from the blood and sweat of his serfs.

During the Great War high minded Government officials and the companies, not without a thought of the future when the rapacious Hun would be squelched and all energy concentrated on the peaceful pursuit of profit, co-operated in organizing the Loyal Legion of Loggers, ostensibly a “voluntary association of employers and employees.” But there was little choice about it insofar as the employees were concerned. Army-uniformed organizers presented an application and stood by while the “voluntary” joiner signed on the dotted line. Refusal to join was interpreted as disloyalty with all the punishment that war time hysteria prescribed. Of course the real object was to counteract the rising militancy

of the workers influenced by the I. W. W., and later the purpose of the Four L was stated more baldly:

"to extirpate 'the reds' from the industry: to approve the open shop; to give preference in employment to Four L members; to favor drastic legislation for deportation of aliens and against admitting aliens as members."

Every effort to inaugurate a *bona fide* union has been met with violence and bloodshed. A systematic "black list" permanently bars any man who has voiced the least dissent against conditions, and one on this list cannot find employment in any camp. The infamous "gypo" system, which turns one worker against the other, inculcates mutual jealousy and internal warfare. Those over 45 and cripples maimed by the negligence and careless greed of their employers are displaced by young and able-bodied recruits. The Skidroad in Seattle and other districts where lumberjacks congregate are crowded with old and disabled victims of a system which crushes the life juice out of them and casts them aside like so many squeezed oranges. The wretched lumber towns are owned absolutely by the companies, wages are frequently paid in "scrip", and most of the men are perpetually in debt. A nicely balanced program of unemployment and frenzied production is the bosses' aim. It teaches the lesson of submission.

Soviet timber workers—objects of the tender solicitude of Fish and Co.—work seven hours a day and five days a week at trade union wages. They are housed in sanitary and comfortable quarters with full opportunity for intellectual and social diversion; they are furnished with free transportation between job and job; they enjoy a two weeks' vacation each year with full pay, and many other advantages unknown to their American brothers. I imagine that thousands of the sturdy individualistic slaves of our timber barons would willingly be "forced" to labor in Soviet Russia. The grabbing lumber interests have ravaged all our forests without a thought of reforestation—which might bring the price of lumber down. Thousands of acres of blackened stumps are monuments to their rapacity. Having fouled its own nest, the greedy-gutted monopolistic vulture squawks in alarm at the rising soviet star.

Since the I. W. W. abandoned its militant tactics, the case of the lumber worker has seemed hopeless. But the newly organized National Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, has sprung to life, and its eager acceptance by those it has been able to reach is a promise for the future.

The book is carefully documented and must have necessitated a prodigious amount of research.

JACK CONROY

Written in Pictures

No Jobs Today—the story of a Young Worker in Pictures, by Phil Bard. Published by the Young Communist League. 10c.

It's only a little over a year ago that Phil Bard walked into the *New Masses* office with a folder full of drawings. Good ones, too. He said then, at the age of 19, that he wasn't too sure that he knew "what all the shooting was about." So he joined the group of revolutionary artists who believe that if art is any good at all, it should also be good for chalk-talks at workers clubs, demonstration posters and cartoons in the *Daily Worker*. In other words, he threw his lot with that talented and growing group of American revolutionary artists who mix the class struggle with their paint and crayon: they believe in propaganda. And in a year's time Phil Bard has become one of our best propagandists.

Now he has given us his first book "written" in pictures. *No Jobs Today* is a little book that you can slip into your pocket. In cartoons and lively captions it tells the story of a young worker who is looking for a job: his home, his experiences in the employment agencies, his encounters in the street, his meeting with a one-legged war veteran who helped to "make the world safe for the rich bums of the capitalist class." All this is told in virile drawings that are not "arty" and are damn good art. They swing along page after page, like the healthy stride of the young worker in the story.

Bob Minor says in a fine introduction: "This little book by a young workingman is full of the grim humor that will touch the mind and stir the determination of all young workers." It does it so well that *No Jobs Today* deserves especially to be put into the hands of the potential cannon fodder, the American Youth. The shadow of war is upon us. Pamphlets like these for a dime, ought to go over the country like a red barrage.

WALT CARMON

IN THE NEXT ISSUE of *New Masses* DETROIT RACKETEERS ON THE VOLGA by Bill Dunne

An amazing account of
American racketeering
transplanted bodily to
Soviet Russia: gambling
joints established, booze
running, houses of pro-
stitution, and even a
branch of the Ku-Klux-Klan!
—and what Soviet workers
did in this situation.....

A LETTER FROM A COMMUNIST
DAUGHTER - To her father, an
Oklahoma Pioneer - An article
and drawings on THEODORE
DREISER - CARTOONS and DRA-
WINGS by 14 ARTISTS - and

3 PAGES ON WORKERS ART

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MOVIES

Hollywood looks at war

The Laemmle who professed altruistic heartache in *All Quiet* followed with a series in which war is a slapstick holiday. This inconsistency is altogether consistent—with the nature of an "art-industry" that is response and agent of the dominant class. The career of Director Herber Brenon is to the point. He served the feminist-pacifist dish, *War Brides*, before America's entry in the World War. In 1917, when Russia was threatening defection, he perpetrated *The Last of the Romanoffs*, where Rasputin is the villain, the Czar a duped innocent, and the *pogromchik* of Tzaritzin, now Stalingrad—the "mad monk," Iliodor, "in person"—the hero. The film was directed against the Kaiser, "the Rasputin of Europe," and the Bolshevik. In 1930 Brenon turns out *The Case of Sergeant Grisha*, another load of pacifist slop.

The business of the "art-industry" carries out the dictates of the central conscience in a patriotic week. No politics in the sinnema, says Will Hays, but RKO celebrates Patriotic Week for the enlightenment of its patrons. Our noble Vice-President, a descendant of an Indian Chief—it's always a Chief—tickles the RKO into making a week out of Independence Day. That means a week of radio, film and vodvil—the concentration is complete, "the mobilization of the entire field of amusements." RKO's public relations bureau ties up the patriotism with State governors, patriotic and civic (virtue) societies, American Legion Posts and outposts. Says V-P Curtis to Pres. Brown of RKO, re last year's enthusiasm: "Your whole-hearted acceptance of this suggestion and co-operation in the movement resulted in a tremendous demonstration of an entire week of flag flying . . ." Flag waving.

The Fox company has made a special anti-Soviet drive. Paramount in *The Last Command*—the work of Von Sternberg, to whom was assigned *An American Tragedy* in preference to Eisenstein—indirectly attacked the Soviet. But Fox has always been blunter. *The Spy*, circulated diligently to family audiences—it was shown a number of times in and around "Red" 14th Street—is a direct invitation to murder Soviet officials. I am told Fox had a special Russian advisor for this film, a white guard imported from Paris. The sole authenticity in the film is the Red Army uniform.

The film relates of the emigres in Paris. Tcheka spies listen in. The Grand Duke—never once visible to the audience—becomes the more awesome by revealing his presence only with his arm and hand. This apotheosis is a theatrical trick toward emotional effect. The picture intends more than "passing amusement." Someone must go to Moscow to assassinate Citizen X, the leader of the Tcheka who, we are told, will not allow the emigres' families to leave the U.S.S.R. The sympathy is all with the emigres, who, for no fault of theirs, are being persecuted. The noble young Captain risks his life to do the deed, which ain't, according to Fox, so dirty. He goes because he has left behind him in Moscow a wife and son.

Nobility just oozes out of the pores of this movie. The nobility of the invisible Grand Duke, the Captain, the wife, the son, the waifs. On the other side there is only ignobility or the coldness of steel. The Soviet "police" pursue the waifs. Several fall to death from the rooftops. Anything to increase the horror of the Soviet "regime." So noble, in contrast, is aristocracy that the wife willingly becomes the hostess in a state gambling-house because the money goes to succor the homeless waifs. The film is gooey with every vile sentimentalism calculated to influence a simple-minded and uninformed audience.

The motivation behind the picture is explained in the identities of the members of the Fox directorial board. They include: the president of the Utilities Power and Light Corporation; chairman of the governing committee of the Chase National Bank; the son-in-law of Andy Mellon who is, at the same time, a director of the U. P. Railroad; Corny Vanderbilt; the prexy of the Central Trust Company of Illinois; other bankers, industrialists, etcetera. The interlocking of control means a unity of purpose, and the imminent purpose is war—against the Soviet Union.

The existence of a Workers' Film and Photo League and of a Film and Photo Commission of the Workers' Cultural Federation

A New Soviet Film!

"A JEW AT WAR"

A tense drama of a Jewish worker who awakes to the senseless slaughter of worker by worker in the last war!

American Titles by Michael Gold

PRODUCED IN THE U. S. S. R. BY UKRAINFILM

CAMEO

42ND STREET
and
BROADWAY

ALL SEATS
TILL
1 P. M.

35c

should afford a means of combating the suggestions and invitation of a film like *The Spy*. In the July number of *Worker's Theatre*, I have included among the tasks awaiting the League "the use of methods of direct action, boycott, picketing, against the anti-working-class, anti-Soviet film." Socner or later we shall need to become active in our opposition to the monopolized motion picture where it is used invidiously. We ought not delay in circularizing the workers upon movie-manoeuvres of a reactionary nature. We should start in at once upon "the education of the workers and others in the part the movie plays as a weapon of reaction . . . in the U. S. A.; and . . . as an instrument for social purposes—in the U.S.S.R."

HARRY ALAN POTAMKIN

JEWS, RED AND WHITE

There has been a lull in the Amkino productions and *A Jew at War*, (Cameo Theatre, New York) although not the greatest of the Soviet movies, is a welcome relief from the Hollywood bombardment of gangsters, gigolos and "prosperity-is-coming" insipidity.

Because of the sentimentality of the Zionist bellycrawlers for British and American imperialism who let out some pacifist waifs about "jew killing jew" in the last war, this picture is particularly interesting. Abe Cahan, Morris Hillquit and other "socialist" Jews and Zionist hangerson will forget about "jew killing jew" if the Jew happens to be of that gentile (outcast) tribe, a Communist revolutionist in the Soviet Union.

This is the story of a Jewish worker in Russia from the imperialist war to the Five Year Plan. From the theme of Jew killing Jew it develops to the idea of worker killing worker for the profit of capitalism. Out of the blood and turmoil from which David rebounds horrified at the realization that he is about to strangle a Jew in the "enemy army" comes the realization that the workers in both armies have a common cause, not because they are Jews, but because they are workers.

Later however, the two Jews, David and Brandt, land in irreconcilable camps—one in the camp of the revolution, the other in the camp of the counter-revolution. And David who in the imperialist war had saved Brandt's life at the risk of his own, finds it necessary to execute this Jew when he becomes the enemy of the downtrodden, the masses, the proletariat in rebellion.

From a sensitive, sentimental little tailor, longing for nothing but peace and quiet, David has become a revolutionist, fearless, ruthless for the revolution. This sounds like a remarkable change in character, but honest realism and splendid acting have made it credible from first to last.

There is humor and fantasy in the film even through the scenes of the war. The theme of chauvinism vs. revolution is never obtrusive or monotonous.

The timeliness of a *Jew at War*, with a new imperialist war in the offing, makes it even more significant.

HELENE WOOLF

A CHINESE COMMUNIST DIES

Liu Chien-chu, one of the most capable of Chinese Communist-peasant organizers, was born in Ping-tu District, Shantung Province, in 1896, of a peasant family. He was able to get an education through the missionaries and throughout his early life was a Christian. He attended the missionary Middle School in Tsinan but, because of poverty, could not go to a university. For a time he became a soldier. Because of a thesis which he wrote, he won a scholarship in Yenching University, near Peking, President Stuart offering him either money or a scholarship. He studied and graduated from Yenching after three years. His subject was history. When the May 30th, 1925, massacre took place in Shanghai he became an important member of the Federation of Student Unions of Peking, and was President of the Yenching University Students' Union. Graduating in 1926, he was recommended by President Stuart to become a teacher of Chinese in the Christian Middle School in Chenkiang, Kiangsu Province, where he taught for one year. Despite this good position and the request of students to remain, he went to Canton, thinking he might become active in the revolutionary government there. For six months he taught in the Middle School of Lingnan University, then called the Canton Christian College, but left this because he had become a Communist and could no longer remain in a Christian institution. Requested by his students to remain, he refused, telling them frankly his viewpoint.



LIU CHIEN-CHU

From Canton he went to Wuhan and joined the Political Bureau of the Eleventh Army, where he worked for five months. The Communist Party and the Kuomintang still cooperating, he was sent by the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang to Honan as a peasant organizer. When the Kuomintang and the Communist Party split and the white terror began, Liu, with other Communists, escaped. From that time on down to May, 1929, he worked with the peasants fighting and organizing peasant unions. In May, 1929, he was captured in Shantung Province, his native place, and given a secret trial before the militarists there. The chief witness against him was a former friend, a Kuomintang member, who offered him a high position if he would betray his comrades and Party and become a member of the Kuomintang. Liu's reply was a speech in which he uncompromisingly stated his convictions as a Communist. Pending a decision in his case, he was tortured to make him betray his comrades. He was put in a wooden cage about three feet high in which he could never stand up or lie down, and about his ankles were 20 lb. shackles. His hands were shackled and attached by chains to his ankle shackles. He was permitted to leave the cage once a day to go to the toilet. After months of this torture, in which he nearly died, he was finally released, still uncompromising in his convictions, and was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. He was put in the Tsinan First "Model" Prison, in a cell with six other men, all Communists. He, like they, was always shackled with the 20 lb. iron bands and with wrist bands attached by chains to his feet. The cell was dark and damp and the prisoners were permitted to leave their cell for ten minutes each day to go to the toilet.

Books sent to them were severely censored and nothing of a political nature could be had. The *New Masses* of New York got by because it was in the English language. The only kind of social novel to get by was Upton Sinclair's *Love's Pilgrimage*, and this because of its title. Liu spent the last days of his life translating this book into Chinese, but death interrupted that.

The manner of his death is important—it was due to the rivalry between two militarists. Chiang Kai-shek, the chief Nanking militarist, tried to force Han Fu-chu, military governor of Shantung Province, to take his troops and go to Kiangsi for the "Red Suppression" Campaign. Han Fu-chu knew this was a move to dispossess him in favour of a Chiang Kai-shek general. So he replied that he was so busy suppressing the Communists in Shantung that he could not go to Kiangsi. He had no proof, so he presented proof. His first "proof" came on the Sunday morning of April 5th when he took out 22 political prisoners from Tsinan prison and shot them

to death. All had already been sentenced to long years of imprisonment. Among the victims was Liu Chien-chu, who had served some two years of his term. After this, the foreign and Chinese press carried a few lines saying that Han Fu-chu had executed 22 bandits recently captured in Shantung.

Liu Chien-chu was one of the most capable of Chinese revolutionary leaders. He was a North Chinese with the nature of the North Chinese. He studied slowly and seriously and fundamentally, was slow to reach a decision, but once convinced, nothing could move him. Communism was a part of his life and thought. He was not only a man who studied much, but he was cool in judgment, a marvellous organizer of great influence among his own class—the peasants. He lived with them, organized them fought with them in upris-

ings against the reaction and the white terror. At any moment he could have betrayed and won high position with the Nanking Government. But he did not. He, one of the most capable of Chinese revolutionary leaders, remained faithful to his convictions and to the revolution—faithful through torture and into death.

Shanghai, China

LEFT WRITERS LEAGUE OF CHINA.

N. Y. Federation Protest

The Workers Cultural Federation of the New York District and the John Reed Club of New York have started a joint protest campaign against the execution of six Chinese proletarian writers by the Nanking government. (The details of the executions and appeal of the Left Writers of China were given in the June *New Masses*). On June 14, at its first conference, the New York Federation pledged immediately to initiate a protest campaign. On July 15 the Federation participated in a demonstration at the Chinese Consulate, called by the Communist Party, the International Labor Defense and the Anti-Imperialist League, to protest particularly against the murder of Hsiang Chung Fa, secretary of the Chinese Communist Party. Three thousand workers took part in the demonstration. A. B. Magil spoke in the name of the Federation and headed a delegation of workers that tried to get into the consulate to present a protest resolution.

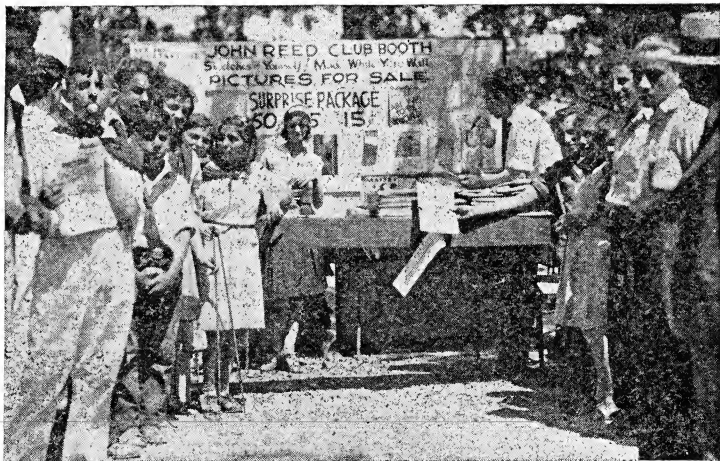
All writers, artists, scientists, educators, etc., who are in sympathy with this protest movement against the wanton murder of the six Chinese writers, should send their names or a signed statement in support to the John Reed Club, 102 West 14th Street, New York City.



The Art Booth of the John Reed Club of Chicago at a picnic of the Chicago District of the Communist Party held on July 4, at Cherranuskas Grove.



LIU CHIEN-CHU



The Art Booth of the John Reed Club of Chicago at a picnic of the Chicago District of the Communist Party held on July 4, at Chernauskas Grove.

WORKERS' ART

A monthly department for reports and discussion of Workers' Cultural Activities.

Chicago John Reed Club

The John Reed Club of Chicago failed in some of its major plans, because the Chicago Workers Cultural League, which it helped organize, functioned weakly; and we were not certain of our direction. Then, out of a blue sky, in the call for the formation of the N. Y. Federation, published in the June issue of *New Masses*, we are given credit for being the first to get into action on such a project altho we had no representation at the Kharkov Conference. Believe us, we can't appreciate the publication of this fact enough. It has put new life in our League and the John Reed Club. We know now we were on the right road.

A few things the JRC has done: our artists did the cartoon posters for the May 1 demonstration; we also had a float of our own. We were well represented on Youth Day in Milwaukee, Wis. For the July 4 picnic in Chicago, the Blue Blouses group fell down by notifying us on the day before that they could not get up the promised stage sketches on the Scottsboro Case and the Miners Strike. We took this up as a challenge, wrote the sketches, presented them after two rehearsals and got a fine reception. Our success has helped to stir up the Blue Blouse Group who are now getting into stride again. We had an art and literature booth at the picnic realizing some needed funds for the Communist Party.

Our group now has about 50 members. We are getting them more interested thru active participation in the struggle: the only way to stir their emotions, to give their creative work a proletarian spontaneity, strength and appeal that so confounds the mystics and the form seekers.

Literature selling, tho not most important, is given close attention. In the last month, I alone got a dozen subs for *New Masses* from gas station attendants, clerks, etc. Got 50 subs for the *Daily Worker* since January 1; and I personally account for 25 copies of the *New Pioneer* every month. Not only I, but others in the club get more solid satisfaction out of this kind of work, and more healthy conclusions than a hundred essays on esthetics could have given us. That's why we feel that the bundle of 300 copies of *New Masses* that we sell every month is not near enough.

We arranged an impromptu meeting for Seki Sano, director of the Left Theatre of Tokyo on his way thru Chicago. On July 25, we called a conference to appeal to workers, students and intellectuals to participate in the August 1 anti-war demonstration. We are invading the university campus at Chicago U., Northwestern U.; Crane Tech. and Loyola.

Meanwhile we plan big things for the midwest issue of *New Masses* on which you promise co-operation. We'll do our best, get the right material, raise the funds and give it a real distribution. You'll hear from us again.

JOHN REED CLUB OF CHICAGO
Organization Secretary.

A Letter From a N. Y. Pioneer

Comrades of the John Reed Club and the N. Y. Federation:

We workers kids can't afford to attend expensive art schools. We have no opportunity for the development of what talents we possess. Sometimes one of us exceptionally gifted secures a scholarship to one of the bourgeois institutions. What good does it do? The comrade is surrounded on all sides by examples of profitable, "kept" art and gradually he falls into the same ways. His genius is lost to the working-class.

Here in New York, a comrade, a Pioneer of many years standing, begins to neglect her Pioneer work. Instead of attending important meetings she goes to hear the Stadium Concerts. Whereas her love for music should have drawn her closer to the movement, she finds herself growing apart from it. What about the orchestral and music study groups that should have been right here among the Pioneers?

Recently, in Chicago, Comrade Greesha Haitowich organized a



22 members of the total of 34 now in the Red Pioneer Orchestra of Chicago, directed by Greesha Haitowich, (insert upper left) member of the Chicago John Reed Club.

Red Pioneer Orchestra. The group started with twelve members and today they have thirty-four. They have three lessons a week, free! Their instruments are being paid for on the installment plan, from dues and from money the kids make at concerts. Aside from its excellence as an orchestra, the group participates in all demonstrations and working-class activities. It has been assigned to work in a Negro territory and in one day the members of this orchestra made thirty contacts with Negro children. This is work! And it is due to the unfailing activity of Comrade Haitowich that this group is not only the largest, but probably the best, in the entire United States.

Come on John Reed Club! We Pioneers look to you for cultural guidance just as much as we look to the Young Communist League for political leadership. We are waiting to be taught. Build up the basis for a proletarian culture among the children. Your very existence demands it. Bring on your drawing classes, orchestras, and dramatic groups! We are ready!

New York, N. Y.

MARYA RAPOPORT.

Proletarian Play In Rehearsal—

Wharf Nigger, Paul Peters' drama of the Negro worker in the South, several scenes of which have been reprinted in the *New Masses*, is now in rehearsal for production at the Provincetown Playhouse in New York, about September 15. Altho *Wharf Nigger* was written three years ago, its action bears a striking similarity to the present struggle of the Alabama share-croppers.

RED FRONT

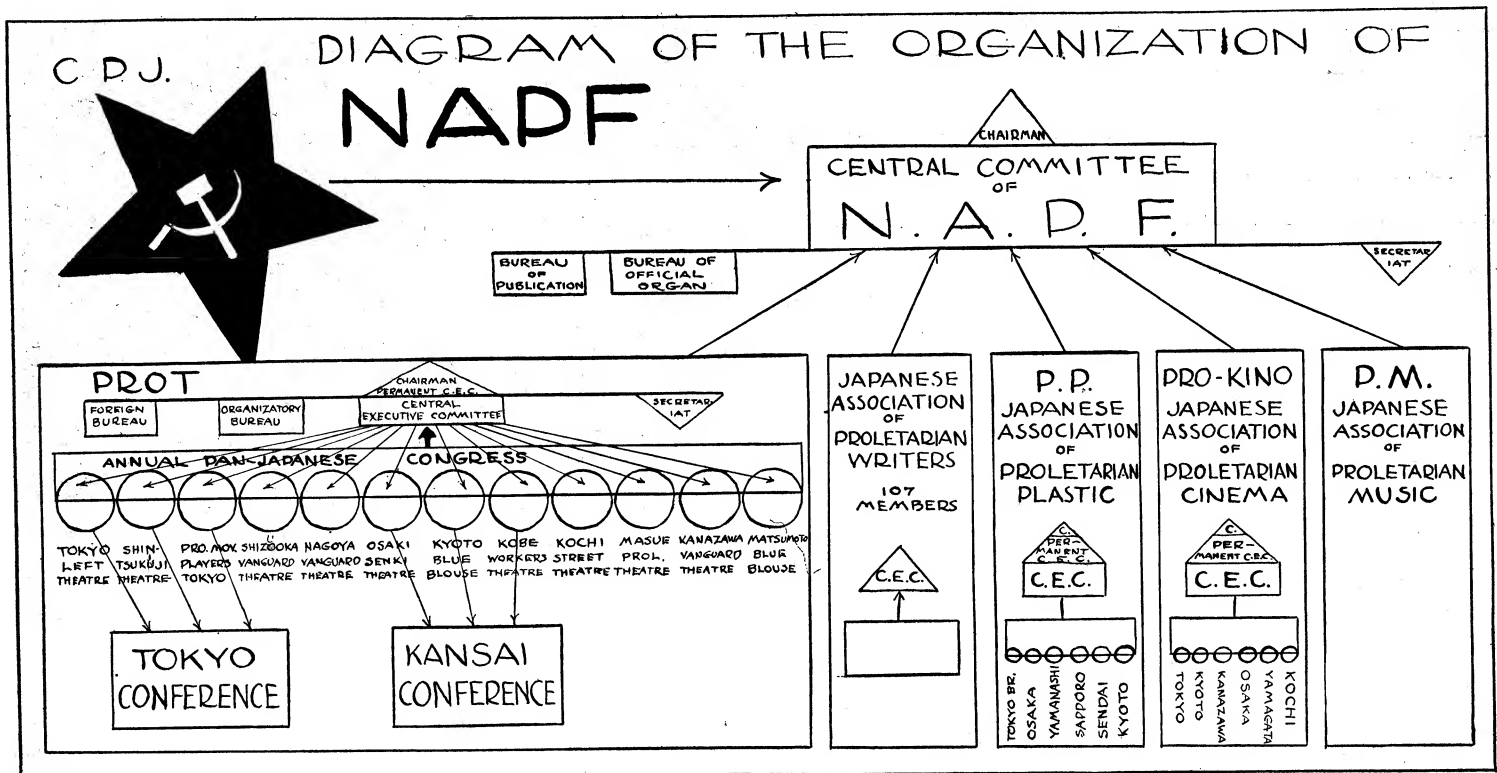
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22 members of the total of 34 now in the Red Pioneer Orchestra of Chicago, directed by Greesha Haitowich, (insert upper left) member of the Chicago John Reed Club.



JAPANESE REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS

The Literary Front, a Japanese left literary organization has addressed an open letter to the Secretariat of the I.U.R.W., in which it expresses its entire agreement with all the decisions of the Second International Conference of revolutionary writers (Kharkov, November 1930). In particular, it states its full agreement with the decisions on the Japanese question. The letter contains sharp attacks on Japanese proletarian writers and their organization, the NAPF, which it accuses of sectarianism.

We publish below the reply of the Secretariat of the I.U.R.W. to the open letter of *The Literary Front*.

To Ronogejutsuka Remmei, Tokyo:

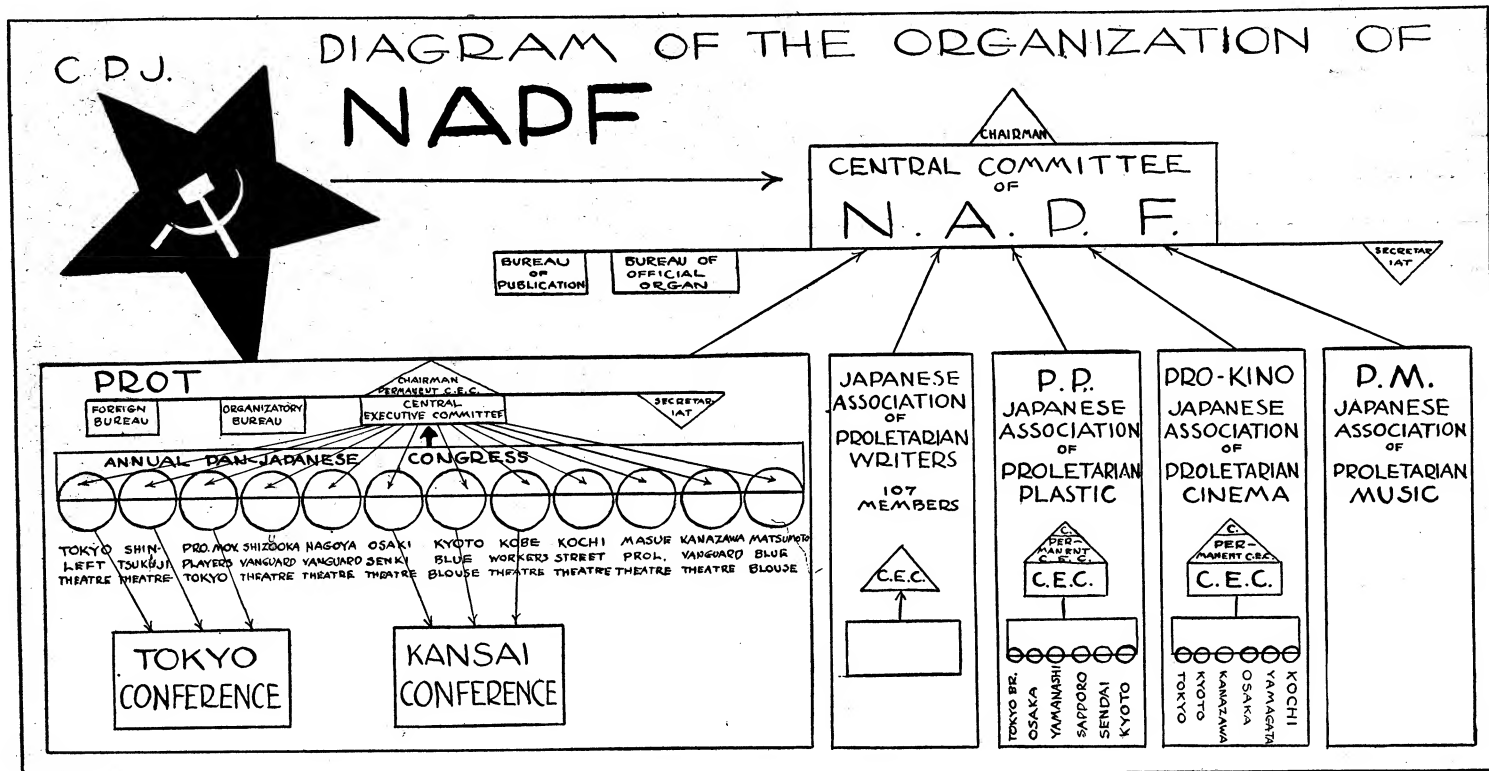
We are in receipt of your open letter. In our opinion your letter was self-contradictory from beginning to end. On the one hand you accept the decisions of the second international conference of revolutionary writers, but on the other you make a violent attack on those Japanese comrades who helped us to organize the conference and carry on our work in the right direction and who are now showing the greatest energy in putting our decisions into practice. Your methods of attack remind us of the left-wing social democrats of all countries. We shall consider and refute each of your accusations in turn.

1. You assert that the Japanese comrades (and there is something very suspicious about the fact that you found it necessary to mention twice that they were working under pseudonyms) were not authorized delegates. Our mandate commission, which is composed of one Russian, one Ukrainian, one German, one Hungarian and one American comrade examined their mandates and found them quite in order. Our invitation was directed to revolutionary writers' organizations all over the world and it was not sent by post but was published in the workers' press in Russian, Ukrainian, German, English, French, Czech, Hungarian, Italian, Swedish and Chinese. Our invitation was not published in Japanese because we had not at that time any connections with Japan. Neither we nor the Japanese organization which sent us delegates can take the responsibility for the fact that you did not read our invitation in *Linkskurve* or the *New Masses* which you duly received, or that you did not act upon it.

2. We were not under any misapprehension whatsoever about the Japanese delegates, and the position which they took up could not under any circumstances be called ultra-left or hostile to the Japanese proletariat. The very reverse was the case. Your suggestion that we let ourselves be taken in by false information is astoundingly naive. We were working on the basis of factual material. Our attitude in all questions concerning Japanese revolutionary literature, as also our criticism, was based on a thorough acquaintance with Japanese literature and Japanese political life. We may say that the conception of the history of Japanese revolutionary literature represented in your letter does not correspond to the facts. In admitting the dangerous underestimation of the political and cultural importance of NAPF you are severely criticizing yourself. No one who considers NAPF ultra-left or hostile to the Japanese proletarian organization can be our sincere friend or accept the decisions of the Kharkov conference.

3. We do not by any means decline to enter into any kind of work in cooperation with you, but the first condition of such work must be an immediate cessation of your demagogical attacks on NAPF and Senki. NAPF is taking active part in the work and struggle of the international organization of revolutionary literature. The help that our Japanese comrades have given us in working out our general policy (at Kharkov more than anything else in refuting theoretically and demolishing in practice the right-wing and ultra-left tendencies), the part they have taken in the struggle against the white terror, against fascism and social fascism and against the imperialist war threat has been of such immense value, that if we were to make a united front with you and you were to continue your attacks on NAPF and *Senki*, it would be the basest treachery on our part, both with regard to proletarian literature and to the cause of the proletariat in general. If you wish to fight in the ranks of the organization of revolutionary writers of the world for our cultural and political program you must know that in Japan the way to us leads through NAPF, as has been proved by the best elements of your organization who have joined their ranks.

Secretariat IURW (International Union of Revolutionary Writers)
BELA ILLES.



THE JOB OF LABOR RESEARCH

Many workers associated with the new Workers Cultural Federation seem to have heard of the Labor Research Assn. for the first time through its affiliation with the Federation and its participation in the recent conference of workers' culture groups. In view of this fact a brief report on the activities of L. R. A. for *New Masses* readers may be in order.

The Association was established in December, 1927, its purpose being "to conduct research into economic, social, and political problems in the interest of the American labor movement and to publish its findings in articles, pamphlets and books." In view of the dearth of books dealing with specific industries and written from the worker's point of view, we set out to fill the gap. We agreed to prepare a series of books to be distributed by International Publishers. The books were each to deal with one industry, or a group of related industries. They were to be sold at a low price and written in a readable, non-technical style. At the same time they were to be primarily factual and based upon the most careful research.

This task has been partly performed. Five books on the following industries have been produced—automobiles, silk and rayon, coal mining, lumber, cotton and wool. The books are well printed and range in size from 192 to 256 pages, selling in boards for \$1. Those to follow on such industries as iron and steel, food, clothing, railroads, and leather will be of the same style.

The data that has gone into the books already published has been used also for the benefit of unions, organizations and publications having to do with workers in these industries. Cumulate files of material are kept so that at any time additional up-to-date information will be readily available for those organizing workers in these fields.

Follow-up work on certain industries has also been carried on through the issuance of two regular monthly publications which go to organizers and active workers as well as to outside subscribers for 50 cents a year. They are the mimeographed *Mining Notes* and *Textile Notes* which digest and summarize material on these two industries.

In addition to the industrial series, the L. R. A. has prepared other books—the first being the *Labor Fact Book*, a handy manual of information on a thousand and one topics of interest to workers in their daily life and struggles. Although this is not a "year" book, it will doubtless be followed every few years with new editions containing later information. This book is a collective product of the L.R.A. staff. Other books in the offing are those on *Labor in the South* by Esther Lowell and Art Shields, on *The Woman Worker* by Grace Hutchins and on *The Worker's Struggle for Health and Safety* by Grace Burnham.

Pamphleteering is another L. R. A. job that has been tackled seriously in the last year. International Pamphlets has published eleven manuscripts prepared under our aus-

pices by individual writers, in addition to several which it has taken from the pen of John Reed Club artists and writers. These 32-page ten cent products have had a very wide sale and some of them have been used with good effect by such organizations as the Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Labor Defense and the Trade Union Unity League. We now have a half dozen more pamphlets in manuscript form, one of the most effective of which is Anna Rochester's on *Profits and Wages*.

While working primarily on the intensive and long range research necessary for the preparation of these books and pamphlets we have gradually been drawn into all sorts of day-to-day research tasks. Requests have steadily mounted for articles, investigations, answers to questions, and data for the reports of leaders of unions and other groups.

Our service for more militant organizations has made us the brunt of repeated attacks by various professional patriotic associations, Red snipers, and certain A. F. of L. leaders who have warned their constituents about the insidious—convincing—nature of our studies. But we have gone ahead unperturbed by the Woll-Fishites. We have altogether over a hundred organizations, sending out our economic data through the Federated Press and labor papers, and placing our materials where they can be used to good effect in advancing the movement. The office is now the recognized research center for hundreds of individuals, unions, and other organizations.

L. R. A. is always able to make use of research workers. We would appreciate the names of students, sympathizers and workers who might want to tackle research under our direction. Such volunteers will help greatly in the general work of fact-finding and fact-distributing that we are trying to carry on.

ROBERT W. DUNN.

Labor Research Assn.

80 East 11 St. New York City

Eugene Gordon—is a Boston journalist and novelist.

Phil Bard—is the artist author of the picture story *No Jobs Today*.

Langston Hughes—well known poet and novelist, is now in Haiti, at work on a new novel.

Charles Yale Harrison—whose last novel *A Child Is Born* was recently published, has just completed a biography of Clarence Darrow to appear soon, and is at work in New York on a new novel.

William Gropper—who has just returned from the coalfields, is staff artist of the N. Y. *Freiheit*.

Otto Soglow—has just finished work on a book of his drawings to appear soon.

Walter Quirt—N. Y. John Reed Club member, is staff artist of *Labor Unity*.



Jack Conroy—was born Dec. 5, 1899 at Moberly, Missouri. President of Rebel Poets, co-editor of *Unrest* (1929-30-31). Contributor to *The American Mercury*, *The Morada*, *The Left*, etc. Working on a book and begging for odd jobs betimes. Contributing editor to *The New Masses* and *The Left*.

IN THIS ISSUE

Norman Macleod—just returned from the Pennsylvania coalfields, is now in Alabama.

William Siegel—illustrator, is contributing editor of *New Masses* since 1926.

Dawn Lovetace—of Portland, Oregon, is an office worker, making her first appearance in *New Masses*.

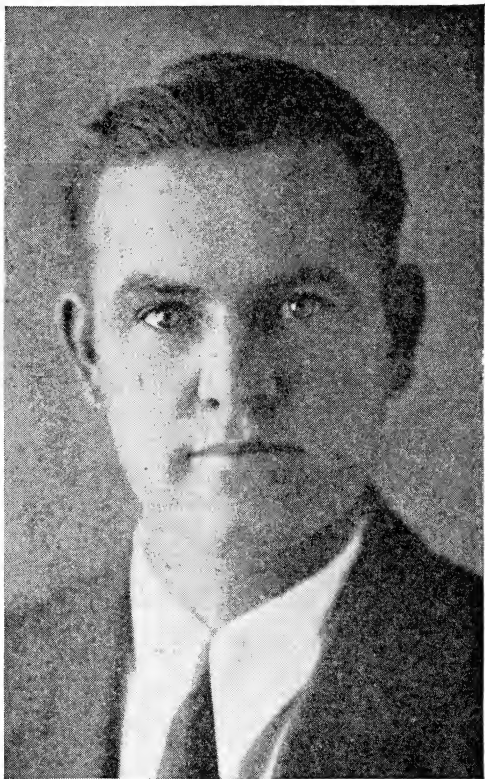
Herb Kruckman—White Plains, N. Y. artist, made his first *New Masses* appearance a few months ago.

Lin Kang—is a prominent member of the Left Writers of China and writes for this issue from Shanghai.

Maurice Becker—now on a visit to Soviet Russia, writes us he has illustrated a few American novels to appear soon, and has contributed to various Soviet publications.

Louis Ribak—N. Y. painter, is now at work in Provincetown, Mass., where he and another artist contributor, A. Refregier are both making collections thruout the town and the art colony for the striking miners.

Jacob Burck—who designed the cover for this issue is staff artist on the *Daily Worker*.



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EDWARD W. TITUS,
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